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CK  
Milnes



THE  
WARNING VOICE  
OF A HERMIT ABROAD,

WHO HAS BEEN COMPELLED TO WRITE IN HIS JUSTIFICATION, AND HE HOPES  
FOR THE GOOD OF MANKIND,

UNDER THE PROTECTING HAND OF DIVINE PROVIDENCE,

*(For which he can never be thankful enough.)*

THROUGH A LONG AND TEDIOUS PASSAGE

OF THE MOST

IMMINENT PERILS AND DANGERS

OF BEING EXTINGUISHED,

AND

SENT TO HIS GRAVE.

BY RICHARD MILNES,

of Horbury, near Wakefield,

LATE OF SHEPLEY BRIDGE, MIRFIELD, BY LEEDS, YORKSHIRE.

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WAKEFIELD;

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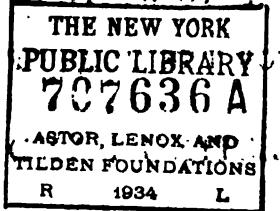
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1959

# HISTORY

OF THE LIFE OF

RICHARD MILNES, OF NETHERTON-HALL,

Near Wakefield, Yorkshire,

LATE OF SHEPLEY BRIDGE, MIRFIELD,

Written by himself at above seventy years of age, who has been twice compelled to submit to a bankruptcy, without any other cause but a little want of capital, by putting his hand a little too far, which has happened to many a good and clever man, and been his ruin; but he is thankful and grateful to the Almighty, for his preservation and ability to write this, to justify himself and he hopes to benefit society and the world, hoping it may be of use to young men of the rising generation, to guard merit and innocence against error, prejudice, weakness, falsehood, wickedness, and treachery, which have been exercised against him, which many people say, would have killed thousands of men or driven them mad; but little do even such know all the secret causes of his grief, which delicacy will not allow him to declare; though he feels to declare all the secret causes, would complete his justification, which was the original cause of his writing, and at times much inclined to do so, but delicacy and prudence step in, and forbids and conquers his strong and almost unconquerable inclination.

I was born at the village of Flockton, near Wakefield, of reputable but humble parents, who by their industry, care, and economy, became able and willing to give me a good education, but being one of the most stupid ignorant lads, that perhaps ever went to school, to sixteen or seventeen years of age I may truly say, I could learn nothing but reading, writing and accounts until that time, being more fond of being among the sheep or horses, than going to school; about that age I left school, and was at home with my three brothers, all bringing up to the same occupation, I began to consider we were too many at home for one trade, and though I was sensible of my own ignorance, I felt a spirit of enterprise, and went to London about the age of twenty, into the banking house of Messrs. Fuller, Baker, and Halsford. I went in the stage coach, we were a week going, when I got there I called a coach to take me to my friend Mr. Brook's, I forgot to take the number of it, and lost a pair of good boots in the coach: when I had been there about two years, my father and three brothers made a contract for the Flockton Colliery, and their other business increasing, they joined in soliciting me to leave London, and join in the colliery, and all their other concerns, which after repeated solicitations, I consented to, though I felt a strong inclination to pursue my good fortune in London. And being all ignorant and inexperienced in collieries, we soon laid

out six thousand pounds in opening this colliery, and laying a Newcastle waggon-way with wood, (for iron roads were not known at that time) but this was the greatest folly, because a turnpike road lay on one side of it, all down hill, and nearer than the waggon-way, which cost us a mint of money, and being made of wood, our returns at that time, could not in any degree justify the expence of making a wood road and repairing of it with wood. But this was done by the managing brother by his own will. Though the opening of the colliery was done by a short drain, no fire engine, such was our ignorance and folly at that time, that I do think with the hard and long experience which I have since gained, I could establish the same work with little more than twice six thousand shillings. And it is a very singular fact, that the master colliers in this part, have generally begun this trade in ignorance, without going apprentice, as boys do to all other trades, which is the only way I can account for so many losing money or miscarrying. My good father died at sixty-seven years of age, and with a good name, left each of his seven children a small estate, without incumbrance, but not gained by the colliery, for I believe it was near six thousand pounds in debt, when he died, and my pretty little estate was mortgaged after his death, to support this colliery, with the aid of my application and industry, without which, I believe we should have failed, for at that time I gained much by the wood, corn, and malt trades, and the managing partner was so ill, he could do nothing but look after the colliery, it being very near home, and we laboured with it near twenty long years, and it monopolized our capital, by which we might have gained much by our corn, malt, and wood trades. One of the brothers being in a bad state of health, and unable to travel from home, became the manager of the colliery, and got more experience than any of us, and at the time we were near six thousand pounds out of pocket, he discovered he could dry some coal joining to ours, by the drains we had made, at so much expence, time, and trouble; and without our knowledge or consent, bought some coal of Sir Thomas Blackett, and began to work it by our drains, agents, workmen, tools, &c. &c. in short sacrificed the interest of the joint colliery, to the interest of his private one, which had a tendency to deprive us of our birth right; as a proof of this, he was saying one Friday at Wakefield Market, how many coal he was selling a week, in the presence of Mr. Joseph

Whitaker, the then agent to the Halifax navigation company, who said what are you doing with the other colliery, you are burning the candle at three ends, or both ends and the middle. This conduct gave his partners much offence, and occasioned much complaining, to reconcile us he said, if we would surrender the lease to him for eighteen years, he would give each of us £300 a year for that term, (perhaps with a further view than the present profit to him) which we agreed to accept, but on as strong conditions as could be expressed, that we should stand in the very same shoes at the end of the term, as to our tenant right to the Flockton Colliery as we did before we made such surrender. But he made us very little compensation towards the heavy sum we had laid out and time spent in doing it. It pleased the Almighty to call him to his mercy, a few years before the expiration of the lease, which he had taken care to get made three years longer than the surrender, with what view he got it made longer will soon appear. And he appointed me one of his executors to his will, with two others who had no experience in collieries, which we began to execute, but in the most disorderly and ruinous way, and I could not take upon me to dictate much to the two others, because I had been humbled and depreciated as will appear hereafter. One of them took the lead, and he was implicitly supported by the other and the widow in all his folly, so that it was in vain for me to attempt to control them. I saw no remedy but the following, and told my brother in what a ruinous way we were conducting our executorship, and that I saw no remedy, but we three offering to give the executors more per year than my late brother had given us, which they agreed to, and we offered, free and independent of all management and outgoings whatever, in the very same way our brother had done to us, to the expiration of the rest of the term, that being the time we were to be reinstated as partners, and to the capital, and then to renew the lease with his two children, they to have the same share as their father.

His widow had the folly to pretend to take offence at this generous act of ours, though she was not an executrix, and filed a bill in chancery against me, to turn me out of the trust, for this more than liberal offer. I contended with her several years in chancery, till the term was near worn out, and the complexion of the thing much changed, then I said to my attorney, Mr. Lee, if she will pay all expences on both sides, I will resign my trust in form, which she agreed to, and paid all, an enormous sum it must be. Here, in my own defence and justification, I am compelled to tell this lady she is guilty of the grossest ingratitude. She was, perhaps, some very distant relation of my dear wife's, who in her excess of charity, gave invitations to her, her aunt, and sister, and they were all three visitors at the same time for months and months at a time with us, for several years, without being able to make us a return; in short we caressed and did every thing that was kind and more than generous to them, and the managing brother fell in love with and married her, by which she reached the eminence she now sits upon. This, I think, is a proof she owes all she has to me, because he would not have known her had not they visited us so repeatedly. And is not only guilty of great ingratitude, but

cruelty, by striking at what she conceived to be a poor man with a wounded reputation, or else she would not have dared to do what she has done. But if she will read the whole of this publication, she may, if she will, discover the reverse, for I here tell her I would not part with my integrity, my honor, my religion, my good name, and all the gifts which God has bestowed upon me, in exchange for millions. Justice is due unto all men. Tread on a worm and it will complain, though not able to defend itself. And I have received many insults from her son-in-law, but I never resent them, I bear them all with great patience and fortitude; nor would I have written this, but in my own defence and justification, because I know they have both had the folly to attempt to defame me many times, but fortunately I have the hope and comfort to believe that my good name is superior to their slander, wherever I am known. Her conduct is a mystery to me, and I will appeal to the world and all who know me, to prove that my friendships are eternal, but my enmities are not so, I know no foundation for her malice, but much for her gratitude. I was the only true, able, and willing friend she had in the world, but she would not know how to value me, perhaps because her judgment was blinded by what she erroneously fancied was her interest.

I am hurt beyond my power to express, that she has compelled me to censure a woman, it never happened to me before, and I hope it will never happen to me again. I am always a most zealous advocate for the fair, amiable, lovely sex. By these crooked, mysterious, unjust, unwise, and complicated proceedings, were we deprived of our birth-right to the Flockton Colliery. I could enlarge much more upon this nefarious proceeding, but prudence and delicacy forbid me. With this exception, we are one of the most harmonious, affectionate families.

A few years before we began to open our Flockton Colliery, Captain Crowle, of Water Frystone Hall, near Ferrybridge, Yorkshire, began to open a colliery in that estate, and as I knew he was sinking money very fast, and in a very unhappy way with his colliery, I always avoided the subject as much as possible, because I think it indecorous and unpolite to mention a subject to any one that is likely to be in the least unpleasant or disagreeable. But he was so fond of his colliery, or so much inclined to gain information, it was the first subject he mentioned when we met at Wakefield Market, and the last when we parted. He built steam engines, sunk pits, laid Newcastle waggon ways with wood, had many law suits with his workmen, &c. and won the colliery, began to get coal, though by this time so much involved, that he was compelled to advertise his colliery to let. A Mr. Lees, of Clark's Field, near Oldham, Lancashire, came to view and treat for it, but returned without making a bargain. The Captain was so fond of his customer, that he followed him into Lancashire with as much zeal as if he had been going to court a bonny wife, and in the presence of Mrs. Lees did court him to take his colliery. The Captain being a very polite, agreeable, pleasant man, and giving a most plausible account of the colliery, that he made such a favorable impression upon Mrs. Lees, that she interfered, and

begged of her husband to go and see if he could agree, as it appeared very likely to be a very good thing. Mr. Lees said he would comply with her request, on condition that she would make him a faithful promise that she would not blame him in case it did not turn out well, which the good lady agreed to. He went, and Captain Crowle granted him a lease for twenty-one years, binding on his part, the tenant to be at liberty at the expiration of any six month's notice. He allowed him to enter to all pits, gins, engines, waggon ways, tools of every description, in short, all the whole stock without paying any consideration whatever. He had only to get the coal and lay it upon the hill, and the Captain would take it at a stipulated price, and sell it again to the public, from whence his profits were to arise, as Mr. Lees was to pay no rent; and if he did not find a profit to his satisfaction, give six or twelve months notice, and the Captain engaged to pay him all the money he was out of pocket. He began and worked a year or two, gave notice and demanded the sum he had laid out. The Captain looked into the lease and found a passage which said Mr. Lees should make a full and fair trial, the Captain said he had not done so, and would not pay him. Mr. Lees sued him; it was tried at York and given in favor of Mr. Lees. The Captain had got into so much debt, that his beautiful estate of above one thousand acres, and beautiful mansion, were sold in chancery to Richard Slater Milnes, Esq who became member of parliament for York, who was a true whig and true patriot as ever entered the British house of commons, but died at the age of forty-five. And the Captain was so vexed and obstinate, they had to take forcible possession, and threaten to commit him to prison before he would sign the conveyance deeds. Since this we have had a story told of a south country gentleman, who had spent £10,000 in pursuit of lead, and the same sum in pursuit of coal, and still unfortunate. He was coming to Yorkshire through a village in the south, and heard a pig cry very bitterly; he met a farmer at the moment and said to him, pray what is the matter with that pig? he said, they are ringing its nose, Sir; pray what is that for? said the gentleman; the farmer answered, to keep him from rooting in the earth, Sir; the gentleman shook his nose, and said, I wish I had been rung twenty years ago.

At the time the Rev. John Michell, was Rector of Thornhill, near Wakefield, a valuable living giving him by the late most worthy and estimable Sir George Savile, Bart. Mr. Michell once had Doctor Franklin, Doctor Priestley, and the famous engineer, Mr. Smeaton, who executed the Halifax Navigation, and rebuilt the Edystone Light House in 1757, after being twice blown down, all together at his house at Thornhill, and it was said they were four of the first men in the world, as men of science; and Mr. Michell was said to be more conversant with the depth and extent of the minerals in this island, than any other gentleman. He happened to be on a visit at Mr. Annison's, between York and Malton, the company were sitting over a good fire at Christmas, when one of them said, what a good thing a colliery would be there where coals are so dear, another said it would indeed, another said let us ask Michell; Mr. Annison said, Mr. Michell do you think

there is coal in my estate here? he answered in the affirmative; he said do you really think so Mr. Michell? he said, I do Sir; and are you really in good earnest? I am Sir. Mr. Annison here paused a considerable time in high spirits; and said, pray, Sir, how deep do you think it may be? indeed, Sir, that is a hard question, but at a rough guess I think it may be about a mile and a half deep; from this we may conclude these islands are all coal, but some parts very deep, and at Newcastle and Whitehaven they work much coal under the sea, and it is supposed to extend to the Isle of Man and Ireland; and some men conjecture that a subterraneous road may, in process of time, be made from Whitehaven to the Isle of Man and Ireland, to accommodate travellers, who would rather trust Providence by land than by water, so that the coal is not likely to be done in thousands of years; we have hundreds of thousands of acres of coal in Yorkshire which have been in part worked or bored to, and all the beds put together amount in some parts to five yards thick, many a great deal more in Earl Fitzwilliam's estate, near Rotherham, Yorkshire; they have bored to three beds all of them nineteen feet thick; and if we include the neighbouring counties, we may say we have millions of acres. The above-mentioned beds we know, having been bored to, and there may be more below which have never been bored to, and most likely all those seams extend to London, the lands end, the east and west coast, Newcastle, and through Scotland, Wales and Ireland, with variation in thickness, occasioned by throws. The seams of coal we work in Yorkshire lie from ten to one hundred and sixty yards from the surface, of various thickness, from eighteen inches to nine feet thick. In a seam at Newcastle they lie from twenty to three hundred yards deep, but how many more seams may be found below between them and the centre of the earth, time only can shew. They say there is coal under the Black Heath that may perhaps lie a mile and a half deep. There is one coal pit near Manchester one hundred and eighty yards deep which contains six seams of coal, one of which is so hard to get, they blow it down with gunpowder. A Mr. Parkinson, of Bollinbroke, near Boston, is sinking a coal pit on the plain between Lincoln and Boston, which the navigation goes over thirty miles, with one small lock only, is two hundred and thirty-two yards and a quarter deep, and going deeper, though it has already cost £2,500.

In the year 1784 I married Miss Hill, of Hull, with a fortune of nine thousand pounds, which the donor had the prudence to secure to her, one of the most amiable and polite women, having associated with many respectable families, with whom I was happy many years, and now mourn her loss. She was very sickly many years, and kept her bed the three last years of her life, till she was worn to a shadow; and though at times so bad we expected she would die, she was blessed with such an amiable, heavenly cheerfulness, the moment the pains left her she would revive and talk about her ducks and chickens as cheerful as if nothing had happened. When I entered her room the morning of the day she died, she asked me as cheerfully how I did as ever, I asked her how she did, she said she could not tell, and died that day at four o'clock as easy and happy as if she had

been falling asleep; and her amiable good father died with us before her in the same happy manner. During the American war, Thomas Day, Esq. author of Little Jack, the Dying Negro, Sandford and Merton, &c. made many public speeches against that war, some of which were printed and fell into my hands; I was so delighted with them, it became the first wish of my heart to see Mr. Day, and to have the pleasure of being acquainted with him; it happened that my dear wife was the familiar friend of Miss Minerva Milnes, of Wakefield, whom he married; the very first visit they made to Yorkshire they visited us at Crow Nest; they gave us an invitation to visit them in the south, to which we looked forward with much pleasure. Mr. Day had an idea the horse might be completely broke without the severity of the whip and spur; he was correct in this opinion to a degree; it is certainly most proper to begin to break him by the most gentle means, to bridle him very slack and loose at the beginning, and to let him walk by himself several days, then with the slack bridle lead him gently for a week or two, and after that run him round a considerable time with the bridle a little harder, but don't mount him till he is quite gentle and docile, after that ride him gently; but in the end he must be taught by the whip and spur, to know that his rider is his master, for you cannot reason with him, though we talk of the half reasoning elephant. Mr. Day fell a sacrifice to his mistaken humanity. He was riding a horse broke his own way without the whip and spur, by a barn door where there was a winnowing machine, the horse jumped, he fell off and died that night, which disappointed our intended pleasant visit, and Mrs. Day never recovered the grief.

A short time after we were married I bought Crow Nest Estate, near Dewsbury, and we went to live there, and soon after I bought an estate of above one hundred acres, full of coal, joining to Crow Nest; and when we had been compelled to surrender the colliery to our brother for eighteen years, that and other things caused so much disgust, that I dissolved partnership with him in every thing else. And in the year 1788, I undertook the conveyance of goods to and from Hull and Manchester by land and water, in which there was much room for improvement; I improved it much to the satisfaction of the public, carried it on about nine years, when one from whom I had every reason to expect lenity, protection and support, was severe and forced me to submit to a bankruptcy; my debts were £34,000, my estates and farms almost inestimable; the creditors met and saw I had property of inestimable value, if it was protected. They resolved that I should carry on my business myself, under the inspection of the assignees, and that none of my valuable property should be sold, being confident that by this means the whole of my debts would be paid, and that I might make a fortune.

During the nine years I was at this navigation work, I had to labour under the severe opposition of the Aire and Calder Company, the Halifax Navigation Company, and the Selby Sloop Company, when in reality it was the proper interest of the two former which I expected to encourage and support me. This hardship upon me and this publication, will, I hope, excite the compassion and pity of these two great and prosperous navi-

gation companies, not only to give me the lock dues for one the first year upon all coals I may send to London out of these rivers, to enable me to establish the coal trade from Yorkshire to London, which I am humbly requesting, but also individually to join my other good friends in the loan of 5 or £10 10s. each, to enable me to execute one of the most interesting works to their navigation and the colliers, the introduction of the Yorkshire Coal to the London Market, in which I am confident of success, with the blessing of health. And I think this can only be effectually done by a method which I intend to proceed upon, which has never been tried before; and as all others who have begun this interesting trade to the navigations and collieries, have miscarried, it requires much caution and judgment to succeed in it.

Notwithstanding the repeated resolutions of my creditors, to carry on my work myself, and my confidence that my property was worth more by twenty thousand pounds, than paying all my debts; he prey became so great a temptation, that a conspiracy was formed, and they broke up my work for the sake of the prey, to the great loss of my creditors, myself and the public, and only paid the creditors 7s. 8d. per pound, many proofs of the value of the property I can give. I held farms of four hundred and twenty acres, all which came into my hands without disturbing any man. Two hundred acres of it two miles on this side Manchester, on the Oldham Turnpike Road; two hundred and twenty acres about or near my house at Crow Nest, very near Dewsbury; about one hundred and twenty of it in fee simple, abounding with coal, all in bad condition when I entered to it, but got into the highest state of cultivation; the rest on lease, some fifteen, some thirty years to come, all at very low rents. At a moderate computation the good-will and tenant-right was worth £10,000, and I believe they did not take 10,000 shillings for it. The conspirators gave this valuable property away by intrigue in 1798 and 1799, with a view to the prey, and contrary to the will of my creditors, myself, and the public. The real estates were worth two or three times as much as they cost me, being full of coal, which I gave nothing for. Many of us remember that most corn farms in 1798 and 1799, gained as much or more money than the ground was worth. The solicitor bought (though he was forbid by law from buying any thing for himself or any other person) the manor and tithes of Dewsbury for five hundred and twenty pounds, and it is said he is certainly making ten thousand pounds of them. And I sued him in chancery to take them from him, till I had done my money, and I had no one to help me. All the other property was almost given away; it is well known it was worth two or three times as much as it was sold for. But if I had been allowed to carry on the work agreeable to the will and repeated resolutions of my creditors, it would soon have paid all the debts, and made me a fortune. Then may I not here well exclaim, surely never was innocence, merit, and property so sacrificed in any country, in any age of the world!

The principal actor in this play, had the address, by the cabal which he formed, by the aid of the Nabob Lang, to get Messrs. Taylor and Tottie, two most

respectable attorneys, discharged from being solicitors, and himself appointed. Never was more valuable property put together, or with more judicious deliberate care and attention. I think the solicitor made a bill of £800, and it was paid him, though I believe they ought not to have paid one half.

I bought Ossett Colliery for nine hundred pounds about the year 1815, and unfortunately engaged to pay for it too soon, and the coal trade became bad, the complaint against two men called assignees, will prove how unlucky that bargain was to me, made so by wicked men.

Mirfield, 12th April, 1821.

*To the Creditors and Friends of Richard Milnes.*

"Justice and Mercy are due unto all Men." "A good name is rather to be chosen than great riches." "He that robs me of my purse steals trash.—But he that filches from me my good name, robs me of that which not enriches him, but makes me poor indeed." Surely no innocent Man was ever so barbarously used.—Nothing can restore my peace of mind, credit, and good name, but my hard case being heard by my creditors and friends.

When I purchased my colliery for £900, two friends promised me £110. each, and broke their promise, which left my capital too weak, or I should never have known the want of money; yet I carried it on three years, and by a true profit and loss account, I gained £21. 4s. 2d. the first year: £535. 3s. 6d. the second year; £447. 7s. Od. the third year; though I had with much trouble and difficulty brought it to this prosperous state, having improvements to make, and my capital to increase by the purchase of three Vessels, Horses, &c. and to pay in full for the colliery, and some old debts to discharge, still crippled my capital. And some of my creditors sued and hurried me for money, and destroyed my credit. An amiable, sensible, judicious friend and creditor, advised me to submit to a friendly commission, as the surest way to protection, then he said I might carry on my business myself, under the inspection of the assignees, as if nothing had happened, and discharge all my debts, being only £3384. 5s. 8d. exclusive of the mortgage, because I had got my colliery into a most prosperous state, and am a good economist. The assignees were appointed by the creditors on this express, and positive condition, they were chosen as friends to me and the creditors, and accepted their trust on these conditions. And further that none of my valuable property should be sold, but to protect and nurse it, with a view that I might carry on my business myself, and soon become able to pay the whole debt. I was thus made happy, and courted and caressed them, and did all in my power to please them. These conditions were confirmed by a majority of the creditors at every meeting, and proved and confirmed by four written and signed documents, confirming the same to all intents and purposes. I was so overjoyed, that I repeatedly promised the assignees a reward of £50. each, or more, out of my own pocket, when all my debts were paid, and the property given up into my own hands again. They have no right to charge any thing for their time, or be buyers of any

part of the property themselves. But to my astonishment, I was soon informed, one of them said he would make £100. of the job. The prey appears to have born down every other consideration and agreement with them. On the 20th of September, 1819, they came and plundered and ransacked my house, one of their wives along with them. She was at my house four days, and at bed and board with them at an Inn all the time. One of them was an auctioneer, and the other bought of him to the amount of 40 or £50. in furniture, and it was said at the time he had not £s. to pay for it.. The other had goods bought for him, and was auctioneer.. They took the plate away, and it was never put up by auction. This auctioneer sold my corn standing, to his brother and others, much under its value.. They sold by private contract (and they had no right to sell any by private contract) five acres of fog, perhaps the best within many miles of it; and grass in the hedge bottoms of eleven acres, to the father of one of them, I am told for £4. only., and he sold them again for a profit, which was never put up by auction. This should have been eat by the colliery horses, and would have saved £15. in hay. They have robbed me of my peace of mind, my property, for which I would not have taken £5000. in ready money. My good name, and credit, it might have been more calamitous to me, and driven me to distraction, and into a lunatic asylum. But I say, thanks to Heaven, nothing but the Almighty Hand of Providence could have preserved me from such misery, and still give me the hope that I shall live to pay all my debts.

They have not only plundered, sold, and wasted, but literally given much of the valuable property away. Though my interest due from my income had been delayed, and I had been without money some time, but fortunately before the plunder of my house began, £50. came to me, which I was forced to put into their hands before I began to buy: though in reality they had no right to give, or sell any thing, being forbid by the creditors, and I have always been told creditors can do any thing with their property.. To me they have been more savage than the slave dealer, they have robbed me of all that is dear to me, but my innocence; I may say innocence indeed, because no one can bring any accusation against me, but want of capital; occasioned by disappointment. I could have improved the capital above £1,000. by this time, and preserved my property, peace of mind, good name, and credit, and soon paid all my debts.

They sold or gave the crop upon the ground at my house, and the year's rent was due from them, they paid half, and left the other half unpaid. My landlord would not sue them for it, though he was told by his, and three other eminent attorneys, it was due from them, but made a distress upon the very goods I had bought and paid them for, cried them twice through the village, and forced me to pay £40. the half year's rent, which was due from them.

To fill the measure of their iniquity and my sorrows, I have been arrested by a creditor for £35. 12s. 0d. and he soon made the law more than the debt, he swelled it to above £71. 4s. 0d. I went with my own letter, sent it into the room, begging his patience, he would

ant see me, or write me any answer; being thus refused patience and mercy, I with much difficulty reduced this £71. 4s. Od. by sundry payments, to £27. 16s. Od. yet the bailiff came on the 4th of January, and told my hay, no better in the kingdom, for 3d. or 4d. per stone, I fear less, which had cost me, the grower, I may say 8d. or 9d. per stone, and after giving my hay, entered my house and sold or gave part of my furniture. And the expences of this 4th of January sale was £78. 8s. Od. in addition to the above £71. 4s. Od. I had no idea such plunder would have taken place for such a trifle, and I expected money that morning to pay him; I begged he would put off the sale till day after, and I would pay him all; he said he would not put it off for £20. At this time my landlord appeared, having a prior claim by law to this deputedator. And though the usual rent day was not come, and plenty of property upon the place, insisted on having his rent, and encouraged the sale, though I begged and prayed he would not do so, saying the goods would be given away, because proper notice had not been given of the sale, there were no buyers, but all in vain. I can fairly prove that by the law expences, and loss of the hay, by this untimely sale caused by the one creditor making sale of my goods for the trifling sum of £27. 16s. Od. which I would have paid the next day, amounts to £83. 18s. Od. The law expences were £39. 18s. Od. Loss by the hay, at a very moderate computation, was £44. over and above the loss by the furniture, all this I have wrote for the good of society, creditors, landlords, and tenants. And I wish it was recorded in the farmer's journal. This was all occasioned by acts committed contrary to the will of my worthy creditors, as appears above. So I had the vexation of seeing my house plundered a second time, and my valuable property given away, when I thought I was protected from all such danger by law, or the bankruptcy.

From a state of great prosperity and happiness, and a fortune at my hand, I have been compelled to misery and danger which is a hard and pitiable case indeed, was I to sink under the oppression, it would break my heart. Being in perfect health, my faculties perfect, my practice in business improved to this day, which has been the habit of my whole life, and still my first pleasure, feeling myself more capable of it than ever.

I have nothing but an unjust prejudice to conquer, which condemns me unheard, and in the mind of some of my dear relatives, amiable and charitable as any in the world, rageth to such a degree as I never expected to witness. But I do hope this will conquer it, and turn the tide thereof as much in my favor, as it has run against me. And if I do survive it will be like the year of jubilee to the harassed slave. In this once happy land, the meanest culprit that appears at the bar of justice, always meets a candid and impartial hearing from the judge and jury. If I can only obtain that, I shall be justified, and restored to prosperity and happiness, and become an useful member of society again.

I think I can prove the assignees have received above £1400. and declared two dividends of 9d. per pound each, only amount to £31. 2s. 6d. I want to know what has become of the rest. I protest against their whole proceedings. I protest against their whole

accounts. I request of the creditors to join me in a petition to the gentlemen, commissioners, which we can do without any expence, praying that they will be pleased to take all books, accounts, papers of every sort, and all money and bills, and every other thing belonging to the said commission out of their hands, and deliver the same to me, to enable me to examine their accounts, as no one can do that but me. And that they will also dismiss them from being assignees, as unworthy of such a trust. I hope you will not shew them this, for as they have much of the creditors money in their hands, they will be glad to go to law with it on any pretence, as they have done before on improper occasions. They have forced me to be despised and rejected of men, and to become a man of sorrow and acquainted with grief. And I was much afraid they would have sent me in sorrow to the grave; but that little blessed, heavenly word hope, was my comfort and led me to consolation in the Almighty. In addition to the many other wanton, wasteful, and wicked acts, which they have committed, they refused to pay Mr Thomas Milner, one of my creditors, for coal which they had got in his land, after my bankruptcy, differenced with him about some perchies of coal, at 12s. 5d. per pouch, the whole amount 50s. and have thrown away above £120. by a trial at York about this trifle, which he gained last assizes; I do not know a more worthy man than Mr. Thomas Milner, or one more likely to do what is just and right. I have experienced his integrity justice and equity.

I am, very respectfully,  
Gentlemen,  
Your obliged humble Servant,  
**RICHARD MILNES.**

*To John Pemberton Heywood, Esq. William Dawson, and Thomas Lofthouse Potter, Gentlemen, acting commissioners in a commission of bankruptcy, awarded and issued forth against Richard Milnes, in the year 1819.*

We the undersigned, creditors of the said Richard Milnes, beg leave most humbly to request of you that you will direct Joseph Howgate and Enoch Taylor, the assignees chosen under such commission, to deliver up all books, of account, papers of every description, and all money and bills, and every other thing belonging to the said commission, and also all the inventories, and accounts of all the sales they have made of the property belonging thereto, unto the said Richard Milnes and creditors, for the purpose of his investigating and examining the same, being satisfied that no one can so effectually examine them as himself. And we also most humbly request that you will be pleased to dismiss them from being assignees, because we have great reason to be dissatisfied with their conduct in the exercise of their duty and consider them not worthy of such an important trust. We have also reason to believe that they have received £1400. and declared two dividends of 9d. each in the pound only, amounting to about £31. 2s. 6d. and declare they will pay no more. And it appears to us that they have wasted much of our

money, and we are much afraid they will waste the whole, if you do not immediately comply with this our humble request. And we also most humbly request that you will direct them to restore to him the said Richard Milnes, all the goods and furniture they so illegally and unjustly bought belonging to him and us at the sale without delay, not only because it was a stretch of their power, but because we are credibly informed they had no money to pay for them. In addition to the many other wasteful acts which they have committed, they refused to pay Mr. Thomas Milner, one of the creditors of the said Richard Milnes, for coals which they had got in his land after the bankruptcy, and differed with him about 50s. and have thrown away above £120. by a trial at York, which the said Thomas Milnes gained this last assizes.

Memorandum to the above.

Saturday, 16th March, 1822.—William Oldroyd, a poor mason, told me he had been at Taylor two or three times, once to his house at Sandal, he promised to send it, but he has not got one penny.

June 28—Mr. White told me he has not received one penny.

July 22—Thomas Spedding has received nothing.

July 26—Mr. Sidebottom said he has not received one penny.

Aug. 20—Joseph Tweedale said he has received nothing.

Ditto—John Spence said he has received nothing.

£. s. d.

The amount of the debts, including the mortgage, were .... . . . . . 4415 9 3

The creditors signed this petition to the amount of... 4028 18 9

And I believe they have not paid one penny to more than half of the number of the creditors.

RICHARD MILNES.

I have not repaired one breach they made in my house. I have not added one thing to the furniture they left me after the plunder. I now live at Nether-ton-Hall, near Wakefield, Yorkshire, in the character of a hermit, a complete recluse. I tell my friends I keep no company, though I have an independent income. I tell them all my visits are upon credit. I tell them my fortune is out at nurse. The depredators have left me a bed, two tables, five kitchen chairs, a form, one chest of drawers, an old broken looking glass, some kitchen furniture, and my family pictures. No books worth mentioning, though I had an excellent library. Though in reality they had no right to sell or give any thing, being forbid by the repeated resolutions of my creditors, and contrary to the conditions upon which they were appointed. I have neither tea, coffee, sugar, butter, wine or spirits in my house, nor will I have till I revive and recover my strength, if it please the Almighty to permit me. But I live as well as I wish, and I enjoy my viands, having long since learned, that it is much more pleasant, comfortable and healthy, to eat and drink to live, than to live to eat and drink, and to leave my meat with an appetite. I enjoy this situation and living, and all my friends know how

much I enjoy company, rich or poor; they never saw me in liquor or idle, or extravagant, or I may say guilty of any thing that was bad. Having no family, I can live as I please. I came here with a view to work a colliery, but I dare not begin till I have capital enough, as I would gladly work it with ease and to perfection, as my long hard practice has made it so familiar and easy to me, it will be a play thing to me. My good friends have begun a subscription box for me of £5. 5s. Od. or £10. 10s. Od. each, to complete my capital, and each will be thankfully received from any friend that may be pleased to join it. The money will be safe, I will not waste it. It would break my poor heart to sink under the oppressions and hardships I am at present loaded with, by two men called assignees. I have only one man servant, who I have had sixteen years, he has a wife and two children who live in the house with me, and find themselves all provisions, so that I have neither trouble or expense of their house-keeping; they keep my house, and provide what I want; when I am at home I want something, when from home I want nothing. He and they look after my horses. I keep no cow, but my neighbours supply me with milk constant. And Mr. Edward Hindlefield employs and pays my man and his son wages constant; so that I have brought my outgoings into a nut shell, or very small compass. A bacon of new milk night and morning is a feast to me; I am by this means saving much out of my income. And whatever may be my prosperity, I am determined to save money to avoid the depredations which knaves and fools have committed upon me, in all directions, and if I once get upon my legs, I do not fear soon being in competency. If it please the Almighty to grant me a continuance of the great treasures and blessings which I at present enjoy, viz—perfect health and faculties, a young mind, a young spirit and young constitution, which all appear rather improved and invigorated, than impaired by the oppression I have suffered. These I do most heartily wish for, to gratify my good will and charity towards others, and to become able to pay my debts. This is a true history, and if I have any talent, it has opened, and matured late in life, and I have only lately become capable of writing. How hard then do I feel the oppression, which has threatened my extinction, at the time of my value to myself, my friends, and society.

When I was in the navigation business Messrs. James and Joseph Kershaw, sons of Mr. Kershaw, of Shaw Hill, one of the first families at Halifax at that time, went into the cotton trade at Manchester; James told me when they were going to begin, his father said to him in a private room, James you are going into trade with Joe, I am sorry I cannot give you much fortune, I have so many of you, but I wish to give you my very best advice; you will find Joe is a short tempered lad, and will be in a passion at times, when he is so, because they take care to be in high good humour, he promised him he would. He then called Joe, and said you are going into trade with James, and you know he is a hasty, passionate lad, and will at times be out of temper, when he is so, be sure you be cool, pleasant, and cheerful. James said we both promised him, we have observed this rule and never had a wrong word since.

In my rugged passage through life, I have learned whether I am dealing with my dog; my horse that I ride upon, my servant, my equal, my superior or inferior, to deal gently with their errors, to give them time to get rid of their prejudices, but to take especial care to leave them no room to complain of me.

There are two things we should never fret at viz:—Things which we cannot help; and things we can help.

These rules afford me comfort and pleasure, every day of my life.

I advise a place for every thing, and every thing in its place, whether you be upon a large or small scale, in house-keeping or business.

Let nothing be undone till to-morrow which you can do to-day, because you have no security of to-morrow.

It is said, good often springs out of or is forced by evil. If there be any good in my character, or this publication, it confirms that remark; for I did not think the whole world, from east to west, or pole to pole, would have produced so many knaves and fools as have attacked me in all directions, yet wonderful to my own self; I am one of the happiest of human beings, in single life, for I am surrounded by some of the most delightful and pleasant neighbours in the world, very old acquaintances, and they will, and do visit me, in this forlorn state, and want me to change my mode of living, but I tell them I will not till I recover my strength. They are of very ancient, noble, and honorable families; among the rest is a Miss Virtue, one of the most amiable, beautiful, creatures in the world. A Mr. Hope, of the ancient family of that name of Amsterdam, a charming young man indeed, and they say these two amiable creatures are likely to be united, they often come together, and I do think it is not unlikely. A Lady Humanity and Lord Charity; a widow and widower, they appear very fond of each other, and often come together, or contrive to meet here. And also one of the most ancient and honorable peers of the realm, the Duke of Philanthropy, this is a complete gentleman indeed, and I often compare him in my own mind, to his grace the Duke of Portland, who they say is drank in public company, as one of the best peers in the realm; and they say Lord Surrey and some other noblemen's sons, look up to, and imitate this amiable and noble peer. He married one of the rich Miss Scott's, and the Right Honorable George Canning the other. Now is not this good company, to make a man happy. But among my visitors, there are a variety of other amiables. It is true, I like good company of my equals or inferiors. But to be honored with the company of such amiable, ancient, and honorable families as come to me, is Heaven upon Earth.

Is it not wonderful to see mankind hurry through this world, after they knew not what, and neglect the first pleasures and first happiness in this life, viz:—true religion, and the true study and exercise of real charity, in all its views and bearings. And to contemplate and admire the wonderful works of the Almighty; and to study all these, and the legalizing the sale of game, as much as they study fox hunting, spring guds, steel traps, the preservation and killing of game, horse racing, and card playing. Whatever gratification they may find in

the seven last pursuits, the study and practice of these mentioned before them, would yield them joy, pleasure, and happiness here and for evermore.

A very judicious and well written letter from the Hon. and Rev. Wm. Herbert, has just been addressed to the chairman of the House of Commons, on the game laws. This subject has, it appears, occupied the attention of the Rev. Gentleman ever since the year 1802, and he submits it as a proposition which will, we think, be generally submitted, that poaching is frequently the first step in a lawless course of life, and that under the laws as they at present exist, no severity of punishment has been, or will be able to lessen its prevalence: further, that as long as wealth is enjoyed by persons who do not possess land, so long they will persist in obtaining game for their own tables, by unlawful means if lawful purchase is denied them. The furnishing an easy lawful market is, therefore, Mr. Herbert thinks, the only practicable method of destroying the poaching and illegal sale, and with this view he proposes that all Lords or Ladies of manors should be permitted to sell game through their game-keepers or some other servant or agent to persons duly licensed, and that the Magistrate, on the recommendation of the Lords or Ladies of the Manors, should have power to license one or two dealers in each market town to retail game. The pamphlet then proceeds to point out the restrictions and qualifications under which the sale to the retailer should take place, which seem well calculated to effect the object. A Bill has been introduced into Parliament by Lord Cranbourne, for legalizing the sale of game, consonant, we understand, to the suggestions contained in Mr. Herbert's pamphlet, and on the recommendation of the committee.

How many interesting and entertaining subjects card players might find, by which they might gain the three important objects of going into company, viz.—to be entertained, informed and improved, by their visit. Surely the following most excellent admonition of Pope and Young, and my prayers, will arrest their attention, and teach them to study and practice them all; they say,

“ Awake my Saint John, leave all meaner things

To low ambition, and the pride of Kings,

Let us (since life can little more supply,

Than just to look about us and to die,) Expatiate free, o'er all this scene of man,

A mighty maze! but not without a plan.”

“ Yet man, fool man, here brings all his thoughts, inter celestial hopes without a sigh.”

### *The following are my Morning and Evening Prayers.*

The Lord Almighty be praised.

The Lord Almighty be thanked for the comforts of the past day or night.

The Lord Almighty of Heaven be thanked for the protection, mercies, comforts, and blessings bestowed upon me through my whole life.

Our Father, which art in heaven, hallowed be thy Name; thy kingdom come; thy will be done on earth, as it is in heaven; give us this day our daily bread; and

forgive us our trespasses, as we forgive them that trespass against us; and lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil. Amen:

Almighty and most merciful Father, we have erred and strayed from thy ways like lost sheep. We have followed too much the devices and desires of our own hearts. We have offended against thy holy laws. We have left undone those things which we ought to have done; And we have done those things which we ought not to have done; And there is no health in us. But thou, O Lord, have mercy upon us, miserable offenders. Spare thou them, O God, which confess their faults: Restore thou them that are penitent; According to thy promises, declared unto mankind in Christ Jesus our Lord. And grant, O most merciful Father, for his sake, That we may hereafter live a godly, righteous, and sober life, To the glory of thy holy Name. Amen.

Blessed Lord, who hast caused all holy Scriptures to be written for our learning; Grant that we may in such wise hear them read, mark, learn, and inwardly digest them, that by patience and comfort of thy holy word, we may embrace, and ever hold fast the blessed hope of everlasting life, which thou hast given us in our Saviour Jesus Christ. Amen.



#### *Thirteenth Chapter of the 1st Epistle of Paul to the Corinthians.*

1. Though I speak with the tongues of men and of angels, and have not charity, I am become as sounding brass, or a tinkling cymbal:

2. And though I have the gift of prophecy, and understand all mysteries; and all knowledge; and though I have all faith, so that I could remove mountains, and have not charity, I am nothing.

3. And though I bestow all my goods to feed the poor, and though I give my body to be burned, and have not charity, it profiteth me nothing.

4. Charity suffereth long, and is kind; charity envieth not; charity vaunteth not itself, is not puffed up.

5. Doth not behave itself unseemly; seeketh not her own; is not easily provoked, thinketh no evil;

6. Rejoiceth not in iniquity; but rejoiceth in the truth.

7. Beareth all things, believeth all things, hopeth all things, endureth all things.

8. Charity never faileth: but whether there be prophecies, they shall fail; whether there be tongues, they shall cease; whether there be knowledge it shall vanish away.

9. For we know in part, and we prophecy in part.

10. But when that which is perfect is come, then that which is in part shall be done away.

11. When I was a child, I spake as a child, I understood as a child, I thought as a child; but when I became a man, I put away childish things.

12. For now we see through a glass, darkly; but then face to face: now I know in part; but then shall I know even as also I am known.

13. And now abideth faith, hope, charity, these three; but the greatest of these is charity.

"The steps of a good man are ordered by the Lord, though he fall he shall not be utterly cast down, for the Lord upholdeth him with his hand.

Trust in the Lord and do good, and verily thou shalt be fed. Trust in the Lord, wait patiently for him. Fret not thyself in anywise to do evil.

Commit thy ways unto the Lord, trust also in him, and he shall direct thy path: And he shall bring forth thy righteousness as the light, and thy judgment as the noon day."

#### *Pious Thoughts.—Old Age and Death.*

The most prejudiced Tory that I know, who is a very religious good Methodist, assumed the critic on my prospectus, and laughing, said to me, you have heavenly prayers, and merry stories in the same line. I said, Sir, I am sorry, that in all your religion, you have not yet discovered that true piety, is the only true authority for mirth and cheerfulness. And I do believe, Sir, that in my prayers, will be found a cordial balm, a comfort to old age. The woman with child. The sick and dying man. The soldier going into battle. The mariner at sea. The miner in the pit. And the fear of death removed from all ages. And the vitals and essence of these prayers will, I think, be found to be my own, dictated to me by the aid of Heaven.

In my Pious Thoughts, I have always asked myself the following questions:—What was I before I was born? I answered in the hands of the Almighty. What am I in this life? I said every moment in the hands of my Creator. What shall I be when I am dying and dead? I said in the hands of the same supreme Being. If I enjoy the protection of Heaven, why did the Almighty make me? I said to worship him; to do good, and study and practice virtue, charity, and true religion. Why did the Almighty make the world? This like the beginning and end of time, are mysteries above my comprehension, and lead me to the comfortable remark of Pope, that "The proper study of mankind, is man." And that man's time is a moment, and a point his space, compared with the beginning of time, and eternity.

These thoughts and prayers, have removed all fear of death from me, and made me live happy, in the hope, that I shall not go down with gray hairs in sorrow; but smiling to my grave. Why should not there be as much happiness at the day of our death, as the day of our birth, if we have led an upright life. The late Mr. R. Ayrton, of Malton, a good and clever man indeed, lived to old age, and when he saw death approaching, gave every direction about his funeral with as much composure, if not as much pleasure, as he gave orders to prepare for his wedding, and retired from this world very happy and very easy soon after.

Then as Pope says again, "As life can little more supply than just to look about us and to die." And the holy sacred scriptures say, "in the midst of life we are in death." Will not these thoughts and prayers, accompanied by upright conduct, fill our minds with true piety, be a cordial balm, and everlasting comfort, and remove the fear of death from all our difficulties, fears, pains, and dangers. And make every moment of our life happy and comfortable. Why should it not be so. Does not reason and true religion, furnish all this belief. And that the first, and only solid comfort and true pleasure of this life is, in doing good. And studiously considering and prac-

Using the golden rule, of doing unto others as we would have them do unto us, I say again, there is no true pleasure or solid comfort in this life, but in this rule, thoughts, and prayers. Without them our greatest joys will always feel a sting, and remorse. What a blessing to us all—that the labourer, the pauper, and all ranks and ages, may feel the full enjoyment of these thoughts, prayers, and advices. Let this rule, thoughts, and prayers, be your study and guide, if you wish to be happy here and hereafter.

Should not these my heavenly prayess, and those of all others, cause all abandoned wicked sinners, tyrants, and oppressors, to forsake their wicked ways, become religious, worship the true God, and contemplate the wonderful works of the Almighty; particularly the sun, moon, stars, and sea, and their wonderful effects upon this our earthly habitation.

May I ask such poor, frail, wicked, deluded mortals, if any such there be, should the Almighty be pleased to withdraw, or obscure the light, power, and effects of the sun, moon, and stars, from this their earthly habitation; and prevent the grass and corn growing; and ships swimming, and deprive them of bread, meat, and light; or the power of crossing the ocean, as a punishment for their heinous sins. If such an event would not lead them to pray, that their God and Maker, would in his great mercy, restore them all, forgive them their sins, and promise that they would for ever bedeem religious, study the holy scriptures, which he in his great mercy, and goodness, hath given us, for our guide and comfort; and worship the Almighty, and forever after love and practice justice, mercy, and religion, and walk humbly with their God.

#### *Epitaph on Judge Nures, written by himself, a few days before his death.*

In hopes of future bliss content I lie,  
Though pleas'd to live, yet not dispos'd to die,  
Life has its comforts, and its sorrows too;  
For both to all-wise Heav'n our thanks are due;  
Else thoughtless man would fix his place of rest,  
Where nature tells him he can never be best;  
How far my hopes are vain, or founded well,  
God only knows—but the last day will tell.

October 22d, 1792, Mr. Hall's birth-day, of  
Manchester.

As miseries attend on length of years,  
And sorrows constant in this vale of tears,  
To smooth the passage, heav'n kindly grants  
Relief innumerable, to supply our wants;  
From sympathizing friends, what comforts flow,  
That its chief ruggedness we scarcely know.  
Through a long scene of vanity and sin,  
My ninetieth year is this day usher'd in,  
Grant, Lord, that I may spend life's residue  
In deep contrition, and repentance too;  
Which (through blind ingratia) may consist in being  
Avert death's terrors, and secure his sting.

RICHARD EDWARD HALE.

#### *Mrs. Milnes' epitaph on her grave stone in Mirfield Church Yard.*

Here lie the remains of Elizabeth, wife of Richard Milnes, of Shepley-Bridge, Mirfield, daughter of the late Richard Hill, of Hull, who died on the 17th of February, 1817, aged 66 years, in the easiest and happiest manner. Patience and fortitude lent their aid to smooth her passage through a tedious sickness, to the blessed mansions of eternal happiness, to which she retired without complaint of pain, in the hope of a happy eternity, through the merits of our blessed Saviour Jesus Christ.

Beyond the rage of time and fortune's power,  
Remain, cold stone! remain, and mark the hour.  
When all the noblest gifts which Heav'n e'er gave,  
Were center'd in a dark! and lonely grave.  
Oh! taught on reason's boldest wings to rise,  
And catch each glistening of the opening skies;  
Oh! gentle bosom! oh! unsullied mind!  
Oh! friend to truth, to virtue and mankind;  
Thy dear remains we trust to this sad shrine,  
Secure to feel no second loss like thine.

#### *Youth and Old Age.*

Days of my youth ye have glided away,  
Hairs of my youth ye are fleeted and grey;  
Eyes of my youth your keen sight is no more,  
Cheeks of my youth ye are sorrow'd all o'er;  
Strength of my youth all your vigor is gone,  
Thoughts of my youth your gay visions are flown;  
Days of my youth I wish not your recall;  
Hairs of my youth in contest you should fall;  
Eyes of my youth ye troub'd ev'ry heart;  
Cheeks of my youth bath'd in tears have ye been;  
Thoughts of my youth ye have left me astray,  
Strength of my youth why hasten'd your decay?  
Days of my age ye will shortly be past;  
Pangs of my age ye the while durst you last;  
Joyes of my age in true wisdom delight;  
Eyes of my age bear witness to your light;  
Thoughts of my age dread you ne'er the cold end,  
Hope of my age be ye fix'd in yon'r God!

Dr. Franklin.—(From the Philadelphia Franklin Gazette.)—The following is the conclusion of a will made by Dr. Franklin as early as the year 1757, on the eve of sailing to England. It has, we believe, never before been in print; and is now published as an additional proof of the pure sentiments and virtuous principles of that truly great man;

" And now humbly returning sincere thanks to God for producing me into being, and conducting me hitherto through life so happily, so free from sickness, pain, and trouble, and with such a competency of this world's goods as might make a reasonable mind easy; that he was pleased to give me such a mind, with moderate passions, or so much of his gracious assistance in governing them, and to free it early from ambition, avarice, and superstition, common causes of much uneasiness to men; that he gave me to live so long in a land of liberty, with a people that I love, and raised me, thought a stranger, so many friends among them, bestowing on me, moreover, a loving and prudent wife

and dutiful children; for these and all other innumerable mercies and favours, I bless that Being of Beings who does not disdain to care for the meanest of his creatures. And I reflect on those benefits received with the greatest satisfaction, as they gave me such a confidence in his goodness, as will, I hope, enable me always in all things to submit freely to his will, and to resign my spirit cheerfully into his hands, whenever he shall please to call for it; reposing myself securely in the lap of God and Nature, as a child in the arms of an affectionate parent."

"B. FRANKLIN."

*Copy of a letter from R. Milnes, to Mrs. Ikin, of Mirfield, on the untimely death of her dear, amiable, good husband.*

Shepley-Bridge, 26th March, 1821.

My dear Madam,

Pardon my delaying my duty to express my sorrow, and to console with you and your amiable family, on your great loss. I most sincerely wish I may alleviate your sorrow, or do you any service at this, or any future time; my respect for you is so great, I hope you will command me whenever you please. Your numerous friends I am sure will do all in their power to afford you a cordial balm. But I hope, Madam, you will secure to yourself complete consolation, in the belief, that it is the will of Heaven; and that he has gone to everlasting happiness, and that we shall soon be called to meet him in that happy state. This resource I am sure you possess in an eminent degree; you know the protection of the Almighty is our first and last resource, comfort, and blessing, in all our fears, difficulties, distresses and dangers. I need say no more; your sensible, strong and amiable mind will I hope, do more for you, than I and all your friends can do. We must leave the rest to Heaven. With my most hearty good wishes for your consolation, and that of your whole family and friends.

I am, with sincere respect,

My dear Madam,

Your most obedient servant,

RICHARD MILNES.

Mr. Ikin was riding from an unruly half-broken horse with a safety stirrup, which I know fox-hunters use to save their lives, in case they fall off, and hang in the stirrup; the stirrup is to give way and let them loose. But this safety stirrup was his danger and the cause of his death. He happened to quenched with this unruly horse, and in the contest this safety stirrup leather gave way and came off, the stirrup was lost, and he lost all command of his horse, which ran violently away, dashed the rider's head almost to pieces against a post chaise, though the driver, without passengers, was doing all he could to get out of the way; this new-fashioned stirrup was found one hundred yards from the fatal spot. He was a hard rider, and used to ride wild horses. It happened at twilight, and he was so much disfigured, they could not tell what it was till they got a candle.

He has left an amiable wife and seven young children. It appears, what he thought his safety, proved his danger and his death.

Then well may it be said, "Man's greatest caution often into danger turns, and his guard failing crushes him to death."

What a blessing that the Almighty hath impressed on the human mind, a wish to live in this transitory, unhappy, wicked world, (unhappiness occasioned too often by our own misconduct to others, as well as to ourselves,) not only those of middle and high rank, but the poorest beggar that we see, has a wish to live. Is it not then an obvious conclusion to conclude, that the Almighty hath bestowed this great blessing upon us, to give us inclination and time to repent of our sins towards the supreme Being, ourselves, and others, and become prepared for everlasting happiness.

Will not this admonition infuse the spirit of true religion into the heart of the most abandoned and wicked sinner towards the Almighty, himself, and others? I hope this will warn every one to consider well how he has spent and is spending his time, and how short a time he has to live.

There was an old Mrs. Elmeall, the widow of the Rector of Thorahill, who retired to Wakefield, and paid tea visits at the age of eighty, kept the best company, and was at tea when the leading topic was a beautiful young lady who was going to be married, and it was said she could sing, play, dance, talk and walk all in very superior style; in short, she was what they called completely accomplished. The old lady heard this story with very great attention, and when it was finished, she said to the teller, pray, madam, can she make a pudding.

I have the pleasure of knowing one of the most amiable wives in the world, and her husband the amiable; he is certainly making a fortune, yet she is so much determined to keep her daughter out of the path of briars and thorns, that they can make their own beds already, though one of them about eight, the other about ten years of age. And she intends them to go through the kitchen learning, then she says they will be ready for the worst vicissitudes of fortune, and better prepared for the enjoyment of the best; for whatever situation a person is in, if they know, and can do and teach others something, they are always respectable, and of consequence in their rank, particularly among their servants.

I once went to dine with an old farmer, we enjoyed ourselves very much, and happened to get drunk, which seldom or never happened before. His husbandman came home very sober from the plough, they had lived together many years; but the master being tipsy, quarrelled violently with this man about some trifles or other, and insisted the man should leave that night; the man remonstrated in his own way a long time, the master still persisted he should go that night. The master studied a while, and by and by stepped up to his master and said, if you do not know when you have a good master, I know I have a good master, and I will not leave you. They went to bed and slept upon it, and were both well pleased next morning. Perhaps this story might be applied to me, and some of my servants. I had a house-keeper of upper name, a footman or groves,

coal agent on top, and bottom steward to my collieries, lived with me all together, each above thirty years, and my present man-servant has been with me sixteen years,

The late Mr. John West, of Cawthorne, an attorney at law, a fine open-hearted generous old Englishman as ever you saw, kept a true old English hospitable house, cheese and bread and a drink for every poor hungry man who went there on business, who perhaps had not a penny in his pocket, and went with pleasure to this place, because he hoped to get something to eat and drink for nothing. He was a good company keeper, and excellent story teller. He once told me that he was on a visit to Mr. Wilson, of Broomhead, near Sheffield, a great antiquarian; he was shewing his company his antiquities and curiosities, and among other things told them his family had enjoyed that place one hundred years, and neither made it more or less than £200. a-year. Mr. West said he was very near telling him the following story, but stopped in time. That the old Mr. Ratcliffe, of Mills-Bridge, an attorney at law, who they said was a poor lad, but he got forward and laid the foundation of the famous Sir Joseph Ratcliffe's fortune. He used to go rolling down to Huddersfield church in his coach, and after evening service, called at the George to drink a tankard of ale, (for wine was not known in those days) and talk the news of the day with the vicar, whose name was Thomas Twizleton; and among other things the vicar told him he was the thirteenth Tom Twizleton, who had enjoyed an estate of £100. a-year, and never made it more or less; Ratcliffe jumped out of his chair and said, then thou art the thirteenth Tom Fool of that family.

I was once riding to Wakefield, on a pretty gambler mare, and overtook a miller on a bonny gray horse, he was as white as ever you saw a miller in a mill, and his hat was as white as his coat; he took notice of my gambler mare, and admired her; I said, for the credit of the horse, she was got by gambler, a running horse belonging Sir John Lister Kaye, Bart., of Grange Hall, near Wakefield, Yorkshire; indeed he said this bonny thing I ride was got by the very same, and if gambler be owned long life, he has all the fifteen perfections that belong to a horse; fifteen perfections! I said I have heard a jockey say, when he was shewing a fine horse, there he goes, Sir, he has a neck like a rainbow, a belly as round as a barrel, and a head you may put it in your pocket; but I never heard a man talk so learnedly about a horse before; pray explain the fifteen perfections, for I do think a fine horse is the finest sight in the world, next to a fine woman. He began and classed them in threes; he said, three belongs to the neck, a long neck, a lean head, and fine shoulder, three belonged to a hare, three to a fox, three to an ass, and the three last, he said, belonged to a woman, he was beautiful to meet, gentle to mount, and pleasant to ride.

Honi soit qui mal y pense.

I once heard of a poor lad that was going apprentice to a clothier, and his father gave him his best advice, and among other things said to him, be sure thou always eat thy broth, for if they be good thou can have nothing better, and if they be bad, thou may be sure there is not much to follow. I mention this with a view to recommend economy and prudence, both to

the poor and middling people. And we all know that no fortune is safe with extravagance, folly, and imprudence.

Time travelleth four different paces, with different people, according to their situation and employment. It walks, ambles, trots or gallops. It walks with the school boy of fortune, it ambles when he comes nearer leaving school, it trots with the man of business all day, and gallops with the most happy and most miserable, viz.—the lovers spending the evening together, and the condemned man going to be hanged, and all those who have laid too long in bed in the morning.

Very lately Charles Sowerby, a school fellow of mine, told me, he once came up to three men on foot, and one on horseback, had met the three on a narrow causeway, with a deep ditch on one side, and a pond full of water on the other; neither party could turn off, but scolded awhile, and by and by one of the men set his shoulder to the horse, and forced both horse and rider into the pond, and the rider got out like a half drowned mouse. This story brought to my mind that one very dark night I was riding down Westgate-Common, upon the causeway, with a deep ditch on each side, for neither my horse nor I could see upon the road, it was so dark. At a distance I heard a crowd of drunken men coming shouting and hallooing like hunters. When they heard my horse, they said, turn him off, turn him off, he has no business upon the causeway, off with him; I said, my lads be civil. The moment they heard my voice, they said, what Mr. Milnea, God bless you, give us your hand, give him the causeway, lead his horse by, which they did. They happened to be Daw-Green clothiers, one of the most rude, unpolished places in the county, which is very near Crown-Nest, near Dewsbury, where I once lived, and should have been there yet, had not I been forced away by great rogues and great fools. You know it was said by the wise Solomon, that a good name is rather to be chosen than great riches. Oh! that young men would read and study the proverbs of Solomon.

As a proof what a stupid lad I was at school, I still write three different hands at three different times, one good plain hand that any body can read; another that nobody can read but myself; and another that neither myself nor any body else can read.

Through all my toil, with all my care, judgment, industry, and sobriety, I have no particular casualty or misfortune to complain of. My endeavours were all attended with success. And to the day of my stopping both times, my lands, farms, collieries, and all my other concerns were in the highest vigour, prosperity, and perfection; so that I have nothing to complain of in this world, but knaves and fools; no little knaves and fools; none but great ones.

I lately went to Flockton Chapel, and the Rev.—Whitwell, the Curate preached a sermon, which pleased me so much, that I took the liberty of introducing myself to him, and thanked him for his excellent sermon; and he told me he was going a Missionary to Canada; I said can England part with such a treasure as you, he said, sir, you must be careful how you talk to we young Curates, for fear you should make us vain. I said, sir, I am no flatterer, I am no babbler, I am no courtier.

My brothers saw I was much pleased with this young divine, and gave us both an invitation to dine with him the Sunday after, that I might hear him preach again; and he preached a sermon which made me cry from beginning to end. Some people may think true religion should be serious and gloomy; and though this young gentleman shewed more real true piety than any I ever met with, he is one of the most cheerful, pleasant companions I have the pleasure of knowing. And I said to my brother, if I had the Marquis of Stafford's fortune, I would give him £300. a-year to be my chaplain, and he should not go to Canada. I am told the Marquis has above £365,000 a-year, or £1,000 per day. This great fortune has been much increased by the minerals in Staffordshire, and the late Duke of Bridgewater's fortune. My crying at this very excellent sermon brought to my mind that I once went with a friend, in London, to see the famous Garrick in King Lear; we sat with our backs to the front box, and at our back was Lord Mansfield, on one side; Lord Thurlow, on the other, a great law Lord; and they every one cried at this play; then well might I cry at a good sermon.

My dear good father once told me, that in the rebellion in 1745, a person was alarmed for the safety of some money he had, and consulted, whom he thought one of his very best friends, about a place of safety to hide it, till the confusion was over; and they went together, and laid it, as they supposed, in a place of the greatest safety, and the owner went to visit it occasionally to see that it was there; and after many visits it was gone; he was astonished how this could happen, the place was so secret. After mourning for his loss a long time, he told his friend that he had a little more to put to it, and desired he would go along with him for that purpose; when they got there, that which had been lost was in the place, the owner said, ah! art thou there? he snatched it up, and said, I will never trust thee out of my own care again so long as I live. This proves how cautious men should be in their friendships. Some men you may know at first blush, some require a long time to know them, some you can never know, and how few know themselves.

I think I have said we were four brothers, all partners at the eddity, "the two oldest became great shooters, great coursets, great hunters, and cock-fighters. I, as a younger man, exhibited a smattering of some of these diversions, but soon abandoned them all, and business was always the paramount consideration with me; my attention was solely confined to that, and the comforts and happiness of my dear wife. Had the two oldest brothers pursued this line of conduct with me, and not caused the discords and divisions which happened, we might with ease, and a good name, have been worth one hundred thousand pounds, which the fine folks in London call a pittance. But I say query; should I have been better with all this wealth, than I am in this humble situation? I say with the wealth, because I do think, after much reflection and consideration of this very important point, that my good qualities, if I have any, would have been multiplied and magnified, as they ought to be in all others, in proportion to my opulence and power.

My house-keeper is a very pious good woman, has a very great aversion to me or her husband shaving on a Sunday, or doing any thing that can be avoided, on that good and blessed day, which I am very glad of. Abraham Ellis, a waterman, of Mirfield, a very pious good man, would never shave on a Sunday; went home between eleven and twelve one Saturday night, began to shave before twelve, and when he had got half the beard off, the clock struck twelve, he would not shave a cut further, but wore the other half all day on Sunday.

I do indeed rejoice to see people religious, it is so great a comfort and blessing to themselves and others. And if they will only be truly religious, I would allow them to be so in their own way, in any religion that I know, except the Roman Catholic. This religion I suppose has been instituted in the dark ages of old, for the purpose of keeping the people blind, and in ignorance; that Kings, their Ministers, and Roman Catholic Priests might govern them with despotic power. And, as I hate every species of tyranny, I have a hatred for, the above-mentioned religion, because it favors that spirit. And is not this religion an outrage and disgrace to true religion. And so far from my advising Catholic claims to be favored, I think it ought to be extirpated from the face of the earth, for the above-mentioned and the following reasons.

A young friend of mine, who was born a Roman Catholic, of a good family, and has great relations in Ireland, and many relations of fortune of that religion; this young gentleman had a most liberal education given, and intended to be a minister of the Church of Rome; but at the age of eighteen he became pious, and bent his whole attention to the study of true religion, and discovered so much the reverse of that in the Roman Catholic; as to furnish him with the most pure, and perfect reasons to abandon it for ever; which he did, (though he thereby lost the countenance of his most affectionate friends and great relations) dictated by the most pure, religious, and conscientious motives, to give up all his diabolical prospects, to gratify himself in the practice of true religion; and among others are, the reasons contained in the following letter, addressed to me, which confirmed him in his judicious belief, that the Roman Catholic religion abounds with ignorance, superstition, and danger to the welfare and existence of the excellent establishment of the constitution of England in church and state; which constitution, and religion, connected as they are in church and state, I do consider supererior to any in the known world, because they have subsisted all the storms and tempests of about ten centuries, and may endure ten times ten centuries more, with the necessary repairs which all thinking men are of opinion the constitution stands in need of, and which I sincerely hope will be done without delay.

Flocklow, 20th August, 1823.

Dear Sir;

As you wished me to furnish you with reasons why I abandoned the Church of Rome, I have the pleasure to

inform you, that your sentiments of Popery are perfectly in unison with my own. The whole system of Popery may be justly viewed as a political combination, managed by cruelty and falsehood, to establish a temporal empire in the person of the Popes; and under the pretence of the good of another world, to engross the good things of this to themselves; else what that assumes the name of Christian or of man, would ever in the face of common sense, make such a monstrous assertion as the following, contained in the 5th chap. 4th book, entitled, *de Pontifice Romano*, by Cardinal Bellarmine; that if the Pope should, through error or mistake, command vices and prohibit virtues, the church would be bound in conscience to believe vice good, and virtue evil. The constitutions of the Church of Rome are not less absurd than cruel. Cruelty is the very genius of that idolatrous religion. The religion itself, breathes, teaches, and inspites it into its deluded votaries. It is calculated to suppress, yea, extinguish the tenderest emotions of humanity, what could ever produce such a maxim, that it is no more sin to kill an heretic, than a dog: but that impious spirit of cruelty, that is interwoven with the Romish religion, is fierce as ten furies, and terrible as hell."

Before I was emancipated from the delusive dreams, and visionary terrors of popery, had I had power equal to my disposition, I would have extirpated every protestant throughout the whole world, such was my detestation of protestanism, that I thought my very clothes would have been contaminated, if I had but touched the church door, so foolish was I and ignorant.

I, Sir, for my own part, am fully convinced that popery is the same bloody and detestable thing that ever it was; let some papists be as well bred, good and complaisant as you please, I say whatever good qualities some papists may possess; yet popery itself is the same bloody and deceitful thing now, that it was in the days of fire and fagot.

Into the hands of papists, it would therefore be worse than madness to put weapons, which their principles engage them to turn against us, whenever a fair opportunity may occur for so doing, which, it is much to be feared, will be the case, if ever Roman Catholics obtain admittance into parliament.

Could the public peace and tranquillity, and religious privileges of the British realms, be permanently secured, I should have no objection to see Roman Catholics rendered eligible to all the offices of political authority. But this can never be, so long as the Catholics of these realms profess allegiance to the Pope, which they all do.

That religious differences should be no bar to the participation of civil rights, I most freely confess. If these differences be not characterized by cruelty, but that this is the case with the constitution or principles of popery, surely no man will deny, who has the least knowledge of that superstitious, idolatrous religion.

How is Ireland, the garden of Europe, one of the most fertile islands in the world, for the production of every species of food for the use of man, with harbours courting the commerce of the world, with rivers capable of the most effective navigation, with the ore of every metal; ah! how is this interesting country, once

famed for its piety and virtue, miserably debased by its religious ignorance, immorality, superstition, priesthood, popery, and cruelty, which are the infallible sources of all the evils which afflict Ireland. Here I beg leave to ask, is not this a disgrace to the British empire?

It is impossible for the orator who copies from the scene of his vision, to exhibit a correct picture of the sister island. Surely, sir, the civil, moral, and religious condition of Ireland, will excite the sympathies, and call forth the active benevolence of Britain so long incurred, to the laboured of benevolence, and to wipe away the tear from the cheek of sorrow, with the kind hand of charity. By what means may Ireland be raised to a level with England, in the scale of nations. By what means can that Isle, fruitful in deeds of evil, become as in days of old, the Island of Saints. By what means can the foul spirit of discord, be made to respond to the sound of peace, and the turbulent and factions, be induced to pay their tribute to Caesar, while, at the same time, they give honor to God. These are truly questions of paramount importance, and on which, the learned and good, entertain different opinions. We know that the cause of tumult, crime, and misery, which disturb the peace, and dishonor the character of Ireland, lies in her superstitious customs, the absence of her great men, want of poor laws, morals, and the tyrannical conduct of petty land jobbers, to the poor farmers and labourers.

One leading error of Popery is, their indulgencies, or granting absolutions. They say the Pope has power to give pardon and indulgencies, by virtue of which, men are freed from their sins, in the sight of God; besides the blasphemy of this assertion; what is it but a cunning trick and sly artifice, to procure money, this is that indeed which brings grease to the Pope's mill.

This doctrine, sir, I look upon, as a key that unlocks and opens a door, to all manner of sin and licentiousness, for what need persons regard what sins they commit, if for their money, they can obtain pardon.

Fox, in his book of Martyrs, mentions one that at first was a Papist, but reformed, and being brought before Bonner, a Catholic Bishop, in Queen Mary's time, said, sir, at the first I was of your religion, and then I repented not how I lived, or what sins I committed, because I could with my money, obtain a pardon, but now I am otherwise persuaded, and do believe, that none can forgive sins but God only. The very corner stone of the English reformation was laid, in a just renunciation of this point, for want of which, as a learned writer observes, our Kings had long laid under a papal curse, but now God has turned that curse into a blessing.

If then I am asked what are the most likely means, to remedy these great and prevailing evils. I answer, let poor laws be established, the rich content themselves in their noble mansions at home, where they may find more real true happiness than abroad, by encouraging their poor tenants, by reducing their rents, tithes, and taxes, and industry in their poor but willing labourers; by this they would become respected and beloved by all their interiors, equal to the best of Kings and Princes, and thus become the most happy of human beings. Let the scriptures be circulated throughout the country, Sunday schools established, and the gospel

preached; then Ireland, under the influence of true religion, aided by all the above laudable causes, will be delivered from her degradations and her crimes, become enlightened and peaceable, industrious and frugal, patriotic, loyal, and increasingly benevolent, and happy.

Hoping, Sir, that the day will soon arrive when Ireland, the beloved land of my nativity, now comparable to the dreary wilderness, may rejoice and blossom as the rose; be delivered from the hand of popish and political oppression, and universally enlightened by the Son of the glorious Gospel.

I remain, Sir,

Yours, very respectfully,

JOHN EDWARD COLLEN,  
A Minister of the Gospel.

#### *Conversion of a Village, from Popery.*

A village, called Molhausen, in the Grand Duchy of Baden, consisting of about 60 families, or 300 souls, was, at the commencement of the present year, entirely Catholic. At the present moment, 48 of these families, or four-fifths of the population are Protestants, and the greater part of the remaining fifth are expected to join their former co-worshippers. The following is the manner in which this surprising change has been effected. The cure of the village was a man of remarkable good sense and great assiduity in his pastoral duties, esteemed for his Christian virtues, and admired for his learning and moderation. In his sermons to his flock, he endeavoured more to impress upon their minds the general truths of the Christian system than the particular dogmas of the Catholic church. Above all, he inculcated the uselessness of observing external rites and cere-

monies, to the exclusion or neglect of internal piety. Charity, justice, and all the moral and social duties were more frequently on his lips than the virtues of masses, the power of relics, or the pains of purgatory. This conduct did not suit the vicar-general of the diocese. The cure was summoned into his presence, reproached from his laxness and moderation, and desired henceforth to evince more Catholic zeal, or to leave his cure. The good man returned to his village, undismayed by the menaces of his ecclesiastical superior. He called his flock together, with the *seigneur* of the village at their head, and having recapitulated both the doctrines which he had preached, and those which the vicar-general required him to adopt, he assured them that his conscience would not allow him to change his system, but that he would continue to be their pastor as heretofore, if they followed him in the old course and protested against the superstitious bigotry which was attempted to be enforced. The siegneur and upwards of 40 families immediately joined him, and for ever separated themselves from the Catholic communion. A petition was sent to the Government to appoint another cure for those who continued Catholics, but it is now supposed that the expense may be spared, as they are rapidly uniting themselves to the congregation of their old pastor. If the Inquisition had existed in Baden, this curate and his flock would have made a very pretty *au-toda-fee*!

*Leeds Mercury, Nov. 29th, 1823.*

I shall indeed be very much obliged, if my friends who bought any of my books or pictures, will be pleased to let me have them at prime cost. And that they will also do me the favor, to make this work, publick as possible.

# TURNPike AND BY-ROADS MAKING.

I think all turnpike-roads should be made on the following plan, which, in my humble opinion, might save half the expence at first making, and also in repairs after made; save the poor farmers from the oppression of repairing turnpike-roads, and also them, and other poor travellers from part of the oppressive tolls, by reducing them; please the travellers better than any they ever saw, prevent the danger of carriages being overturned, and serve the cause of humanity, by easing the poor horses' feet. I would make them to fall all one way, which is called an inclined plain. Models may be seen made by chance; one a little south of Sandal Three Houses, on the Road from Wakefield to Bartholay. Another going up the hill in Birstall, the Adwalton Road. Another between Huddersfield and Lockwood. Another between bottom of Moor Lane, and Gomersall. Another opposite the fair ground at Wakefield. The barreled roads are made to fall much more on each side than is necessary, in the mode here advised, and great care must be taken that this inclined plain do not fall too much, they must only just fall so much as to be perceived by the naked eye, or that the water will fall.

I would lay the causeway on the higher side, and stone it close to the causeway near to the top, so that either foot or horse may turn off or on without trouble; the space between the causeway and the wall to be kept level with the causeway, or rather to rise a little towards the wall, for the foot people to turn off upon, and they will often walk upon it, if laid so as to keep it dry, as it will be more easy to their feet, and not wear their shoes so fast as the stones. I would set no stones to keep the carts off the causeway, or at least not to stand above the causeway, because there is a penalty upon the driver, and also because such stones are stumbling blocks both by day and night; and many a poor man, and perhaps horse, fall over them in the night, which we never hear of; and such stones perhaps cost more than the damage of the causeway would be in many years. Causeways are useful to the rider in winter to keep out of the dirt; and in summer to prevent the horse from raising a cloud of dust to cover the rider, or annoy a fair lady, if one happened to be passing at the time. They are also very useful in the night, because both rider and horse can see them better on a dark night, than the rough stoned stumbling road. They are also very useful to the rider to keep out of the way of coaches, by day and by night, they now run so much too fast. And they may be enjoyed by the horse, without any inconvenience to the foot; if they are laid so that

either may turn off with ease. The poor foot people very naturally and very properly claim the causeway as their own; but they are very necessary to both, and may be enjoyed by both with mutual pleasure, if they will only be civil to each other; and civility on one part, will always insure it from the other; and my object is, on all occasions, to create and promote a good understanding between superiors and inferiors, and to see the latter respect the first, and the former respect the latter, for their mutual benefit, pleasure and prosperity. The waggoner will enjoy the causeway, if it be laid so that he can get on or off with ease, to and from his horses. I would stone the road about three carriages or twenty feet broad. I would not put one stone on the other part, which ought to be left seventeen feet broad, without stone, for a summer road. In wet weather the carriages will go upon the stoned part; and in dry weather they will rejoice to go where there are no stones. And it must be stoned so that carriages can go to and from the stoned to the unstoned part at their choice, without much trouble. Both the stoned and unstoned must join and lay as one inclined plain, and will require much care to do them judiciously. A still great care must be taken that the roads do not fall too much. And if those who execute a new road, will be pleased to take a view of some of the models mentioned above, I think they will be a good guide, though made by chance. This unstoned or stoned road will be very useful to cattle drivers, to turn the sheep and beasts upon, when carriages or horses are passing upon the other. A road made as above described, will be travelled by carriages, each on their own or left side, then they will not have to disturb each other in meeting, as is very common on most roads.

In the fine summer weather, the travellers will all be upon the smooth, easy, pleasant road, where there are no stones, and during that time, the surveyor may repair the stoned part, and he must lay his stone where they are to rest, and break them as they go on, and they will lay more solid, than when put on loose, with the shovel or barrow, and never leave a heap of stone unbroken, all night, to narrow the road, or be in the way of man, horses, or carriages to fall over by night or by day; had this rule been in practice, Mr. Woodcock would not have been killed by his gig running over a heap of stones, and throwing him out of it, and another gentleman being thrown out of the same gig, and very near killed, by running over a second load of stones, in the day time, the 7th of August, 1821, about one mile from Pontefract, on the Wakefield turnpike-road,

laid ready to repair the road in winter, to the great annoyance and danger of the travellers, in summer, and also winter, before laid on. This way of laying the stones on which I advise, will be much cheaper than laying them on the road side, and a man employed to throw them up, and having to take them in their hands or barrows, to lay them on when they do break them, and perhaps laid on in short days, in the depth of winter. And by being broke and exposed to the sun in summer, they would get dry and hard before the wheels come upon them. On Tuesday night, the 18th September, 1821, a gentleman's horse fell with him over a load of stones, which were left upon the road unbroke, in Boat House Lane, Hopton, and fractured his shoulder. On Monday the 24th of September, 1821, I found a poor weaver in a lane removing a cart load of stones into the hedge bottom, I asked him if he belonged to the road, he said he did not, but was moving the stones out of their way, as they have to go and come home in the dark from their work, and several of them had fallen over the stones. And winter before last a young gentleman was killed by riding over a load of stones at Bruncliff Thorn. Two men broke each a leg by falling over a stone set to save the causeway in Bowling Lane, near Bradford. In autumn, 1823, my cousin, Mrs. Haigh, of Mirfield, was riding behind her man, the horse started, the man checked him, he ran back against a load of stones, reared and fell back upon them both, and they were both fast under the horse. Turnpike-roads are to be twenty yards broad by act of parliament, over commons; this is much more than is necessary, and a waste of land; for you may very commonly see a wide road, and about one-third or one-fourth of it used by the carriages, the other two-thirds occupied by a wide useless ditch on each side, and stones laid in heaps to throw carriages over, and horses and men down by night and by day: many falls over them, are had by men in the night, which we never hear of. But by the way I advise, is never to have a load of stones, or heap of dirt, lay on the road all night, nor any ditch on each side to throw the carriages into. I am of opinion the part of the road without stones, will, on the average, be travelled six months in the year. I very well remember at the opening of the new road from Dewsbury to Leeds, in 1817, they would have begun to travel upon the unstoned part in March, and never wanted to go upon the stones till November, which is eight months, the summer proved so favourable; so that the average, including frosts, may be fairly called six months in the year, at least. Another advantage in the unstoned part, it would not be so slippery; in a moderate frost, care must be taken to keep the unstoned part always hacked in, and even at all times, both summer and winter, for carriages will prefer it in a moderate frost, and perhaps in a hard frost it may be preferred to rough stones. But they will always go upon the stoned road when the other is soft. Consider the hardship upon the poor horses, who are so wonderfully subservient to the cruel will of man. At the opening of a new road, they have to wear the rough stones to a plain path, with their poor lame feet, in summer, for want of the unstoned part to save them, and the same when repaired; the poor horses would tell

you the hardship, if they could talk. I think all new stoned roads should be covered with furnace cinders, engine ashes, or something small, to save the stones and horses' feet. The covering would lead them to quarter more, and keep the road even. This plan may be extended to by-roads; as many of them are wide enough, and much more used in summer than winter; and the driver of a cart will tell you, how much he prefers a smooth road in summer with his load of hay or corn, to a stoned road. And this unstoned part would save the stones in summer, and they would be ready for winter. Though in my opinion the dirt is cleaned too much from roads, particularly in and before the month of March, which is generally a dry month, and would save the stones from being so much worn in summer, if they would let it remain on. But it may be well if they will always cover the stones with it when fresh laid on, to save them and the horses' feet. The want of this covering is one of the greatest errors in road-making and repairing; you may see it very common, both in winter and summer, stones broke small and laid on where the dirt has been shovelled off, the first heavy-coach or other heavy carriage wheel that comes upon them, breaks them to a sand as small as that they have just taken off, perhaps the same day after laid on. But if the stones were laid on larger and a good thickness at once, and covered well, even with the sand they have just shovelled off, they could not be so soon broke. How hard that the poor horses are forced to travel upon stones all summer, which wears the stones, carriages, horse shoes, but above all, the poor horses' feet; and very unpleasant to travellers on foot, horseback, and in carriages, when they might, at a much cheaper rate, be travelling upon a smooth, easy, comfortable road, without stones. The waggoners will use the unstoned road down hill, both winter and summer, because it will save them the trouble of putting on the shoe, and also the wear of it, because it will always be smooth where there are no stones, and the locked waggon wears the road much more going down hill, than being unlocked. But in the soft weather, they will often go down hill unlocked on a moderate hill, when, if they were forced to go upon the stoned part, they would be forced to lock, and have the shoe. The unstoned part down hill will be required to fall more sideway than over the plain, to throw the water off, and prevent it washing too deep; and the jetties, or little hills, to throw the water off, will be required to be kept up with much more care on the unstoned than the stoned part, because the water will have more power upon the unstoned. To illustrate the above, I would ask the weary traveller on foot, going a long journey, weary and does not know what do with his feet, being hot and sore, on a hot summer's day, how much he would rejoice to find a path where there are no stones? I would next ask the noblemen and gentlemen of fortune, riding out for their pleasure, how much they would be pleased to find a road without stones, rather than a hard stoned road, and perhaps covered with loose stones in summer? I would next ask the traveller on horseback, with his bags, going a long journey, when travelling over Nottingham Forest, how much he is pleased with it, because there are no stones? I would next ask the dri-

ver of the gig, the one-horse cart, and all sorts of carriages, up to the mail coach and nine-inch waggon, if they would not be better pleased with a turnpike-road without stones, in summer; than any they ever saw.

I think the owners of estates should always give the land, because it is universally admitted, that turnpike roads improve the estates, much more than the value of the land required, and where they happen to be so impolitic as to refuse to do so, and ask too much for the land; a jury should be called, and be advised, that it is their duty to value the improvement the road will make to the estate, and deduct that from the value of the land required, same as they would add the loss and inconvenience a tradesman would suffer, over and above the prime cost of his property, by being forced by law, to give up his shop, warehouse, or public house, by which he gained his living; I think justice has an equal claim, and I hope will dictate under both these circumstances.

Not a greater duty of trustees, than to supply the roads with good watering places, where water is to be found; I know five different places, where the roads have been deprived of watering places by inclosures, and other causes, for want of attention in the trustees. On the principal of charity, humanity, and philanthropy, I do most heartily wish to see this plan of road making put in execution, to save the poor horses' feet, and to relieve the poor travellers with one and two horse carts, (who end their horses earn their bread track too hard) and others from part of the oppressive tolls, and to see the side or pick pocket bars taken down, because they extort money contrary to justice; and the intention of the wisdom of the Legislature, which is, that every man shall travel a fair proportion of the road for his money; I think no man ought to pay toll till he has travelled two miles upon the road, or will travel two miles after he has paid, or make it up two miles before and after he passeth the bar.

This plan may be put in practice upon old turnpike roads, there is plenty of room in general, and it will only be taking part of the old stoned part to repair the other, and by that means gain an unstoned road for summer. But this will be very imperfect, compared with the summer road, being made when the whole road is made new, as there is generally plenty of room upon old turnpike roads, a great part of which is commonly covered in summer with heaps of stone laid ready to be broke, and spread on this all across the road in winter, and perhaps not till the road is wet, dirty, and cut deep, at or before or after Christmas. I advise the breaking of these stones as they go on in summer, on one side of the road a good thickness, broke three inches square, where they are to lay ready for the carriages when they want them, covered with furnace cinders or dross, and they will lay as secure against being worn, as if they were unbroke in heaps, for the carriages will never come upon them till they want them, if there be room left to pass on one side where there are no stones; by this rule, the labour of breaking and laying them on, will perhaps be half reduced, and the stone will perhaps wear twice as long as being broke very small, and laid on thin in winter; and a summer road may soon be had by keeping one half stoned, and the other half unstoned; this rule may be applied to by roads where there is room.

Much more harm than good is done to roads by letting off the water. A gentleman was lately thrown out of his gig by driving over a hole that was made in the road, to let off the water. And if trustees would please to direct their surveyors upon old roads, to lay no heaps of stone or dirt by the causeway side, but to lay them on the opposite side, if they will continue that practice. And they will prevent many a poor man having many a hard fall over them, in the night. I was going from Wakefield to Dewsbury with a man on foot, and I took notice of a heap of dirt laid in the way; he said he had fallen over that heap three times in the night; he damned the dirt and the man that laid it there. I also advise them to let the causeway bend downwards opposite Field Gates, to save the causeway pulling up to get into the fields; and to keep the hedges brushed by the causeway, both these are neglected upon turnpike and by-roads.

It is my opinion stones are generally broke too small upon turnpike-roads. Nearer they are broke to a sand, and less they will wear. And if you would take a coal riddle, and riddle stones broke to six ounces only, you would perhaps find one-third of them go through the riddle, which is no better than the sand they shovel off the road, occasioned by breaking them too small. If they would lay on a good body at once, they would be better broke larger, if three to four inches square, by which money might be saved, and they would be more open and porous, and would let the water through; then cover them with furnace cinders or dross; and plenty may be had from Lew Moor Iron Works, near Bradford, where they have above half a million of tons. I advise all navigation companies to let this dross or cinders pass at half lock dues, to encourage the use of them, then they will go far and near to cover the stones, being the best, and perhaps cheapest material for that purpose which I know; and when they get the turnpike-road made down the Baillif Bridge Valley, to the cut at Brighouse, and Stor Hill diverted, they will go very easy to that place by land, and may be shipped there for any other place.

I think the water wears the roads down hills more than the carriages, especially when a locked waggon has made a gutter, it often collects in the middle of the road, and makes a current so strong as to carry stones above six ounces down, and often wears a deep hole in the road, in danger of turning a mail coach over. This evil will in a great degree be cured, by the road falling all one way, it will throw the water off side way upon a moderate hill, and may do the same by making little jetties upon steep hills, which is often done. And a stone gutter may be made down the sides of the hills, to carry the water down, so level it will do that, and not throw a carriage over, if any happen to go into it. Since writing the above, I am informed the Wakefield and Austerlitz Trustees, have ordered the jetties to be taken away, because the coaches find some inconvenience from them. But if they do take them away, they will find much danger of their being overturned, by the holes the water will make upon long hills. The jetties should be made when the new road is made, directly across, and the rise and fall should begin and end at a considerable distance from the top, and rise and fall

almost imperceptibly, then the coaches would scarcely discover or find any inconvenience from them.

I was paying two-pence for my horse at Westgate Bar, near Wakefield, and a poor chimney-sweeper came upon a poor ass, without halter or shoes, for he said he had not money to buy either. The bar man took two-pence of him for passing this bar, though justice says the ass should not pay above one-fourth of the horse; and I hope, in future, this regulation will take place, both upon old and new roads, for the ass pays same as the horse on all turnpike-roads that I know. The cooks do not contribute much to the support or wear of the road, but the saving of three-fourths of their toll is very important to the owners.

With a view to economy, the preservation of roads, and ease and comfort of all sorts of travellers and horses, I advise roads to be made rather winding, if they have an old one to follow to use, and a little rising and falling, rather than straight forward and over a plain, where the ground will admit. By the first, carriages will quarter more; by the second, the water will run off and keep the road dry and clean, when it would be wet and dirty over a plain. And a little hill would also ease the poor horses, by changing their position, though a little drawing up hill, down is a change; as the labouring man always wants to change his hand or position for his ease. I have often had this opinion confirmed by my worthy friend, the late Mr. Henry Henshaw, of Oldham, who was a very great walker, but never mounted a horse, and seldom a carriage, for many years. He said he would much rather walk over a road a little rising and falling, than over a plain, because it eased him by changing his position. In the early part of his life, he overlooked a great dye-house, by which he impaired his health so much, that he lived upon vegetables and milk above twenty years, the latter part of his life. He said he was of a warm, hasty temper, and when he was walking through the dye-house and saw a man doing wrong, his temper began to warm, and inclined to scold him, but he always turned back and reasoned with him when he was cool. His brother, the late Mr. Thomas Henshaw, and himself, went from the dying to the hat manufactory, lived to old age, and died worth two hundred thousand pounds; and through their whole life were good and liberal masters, did many noble acts of charity, and were good economists. Yet they always, to their honour, kept a generous old English hospitable house, where refreshment was always ready for every poor man who went there upon business. And I do hope from whatever house that old English hospitality has fled, it will soon return when this is heard. For these good men were labouring men in their youth, and know the value of a little refreshment to a hungry, travelling, weary, poor man, who perhaps had not one penny in his pocket, and rejoiced all the way he was going to this hospitable mansion, where he knew he should get something to eat and drink for nothing.

I am truly sorry to hear, that drunkenness and extravagance has driven this laudable old English hospitality out of many of the kitchens of gentlemen of fortune, who have charity, and the amiable disposition to serve the poor, hungry, travelling man of business; and beg

leave to observe, that thirty pounds a year, a little more or perhaps much less would, in the house of a gentleman of fortune, with the regulation of good economy, do all that is useful for the above mentioned purpose of gratifying the poor, hungry, weary travelling foot man of business.

In the year 1816, the Dewsbury gentlemen contemplated a turnpike road from Dewsbury to Leeds, a distance of eight miles, and were so sagacious, they solicited every man that had, and some that had not £50. to spare, and they signed an instrument which would compel them to pay. The estimate was twelve thousand, and has cost above twenty thousand pounds, when

was subscribed, they went to Parliament, and obtained an act which cost six hundred pounds. They began to execute, trade became bad, and some could not, and some would not pay; they tried every means to increase their subscriptions, to finish by their own resources, but in vain; the town of Leeds only subscribed £150. But as they had begun, necessity at length compelled them to apply to government, who lent them first £5000. and after that £1800. at five per cent. interest, which interest the trustees engaged to pay; and also five per cent. every year towards paying off the principal, the whole to be paid off in twenty years. They have finished this road, but in the most injudicious, extravagant, ill-contrived manner possible. They have done it as wild and extravagantly as if it had been for Napoleon Bonaparte, of France, or William Pitt, of England, when they were at the zenith of their power and extravagance. How is this great error to be accounted for, perhaps some will say, because every body's business is no bodies, I am inclined to say, for want of attention to the trustees. And perhaps I may not be wrong if I say further, that it is in part, because trustees have no allowance for their trouble, and expences when they meet, I would have it limited, suppose to 5s. per day when they dine, and limit the number to the first ten that entered the room, including the clerk, so that they be not treated when there is a great meeting to contest any matter. Why shou'd the plain, sensible, intelligent trustee, who has his own private affairs and family to attend, leave them and go and give his time and expences at a turnpike meeting. Had this small expence been paid by the treasurer, and the attention given to the road, many thousands might have been saved in making this eight miles of road, and been worth many thousands more to the public, by having been well executed. Here I can speak both feelingly and experimentally, I have attended ten meetings of the Barnsley and Grange-Moor trustees without intermission, where I have no interest, but to discharge my duty as a trustee, and to promote roads making on my new plan, for the good of the public, and I have had to pay my own expences. To pay a trustee's expences, would add to his obligation to discharge his duty, and I do think the qualification of a trustee should be reduced from £100. to £50. per annum. Humble men often have more experience and pay more attention to roads than the opulent. They have been in such a hurry to get the road done, they have been regardless of the quality of their materials, perhaps used some stone little better than an unburned brick, laid them on much too thick, and after the road opened forced

to cover the small part, which the wheels used with burnt stone, burnt brick, or furnace cinders, to prevent it being cut up to the nave. They have incurred too much expence in land, I am told they paid £4000. for land which should all have been given, or a jury called as above mentioned, and would have been given, if they had paid it due attention. They have laid the causeway in many places so high, that neither foot or horse can get off or on but at each end, and so narrow they cannot meet upon them without danger. The hill between Topcliff and Dunningley, near the top of Tingley-Moor, is, I think, four inches rise at the yard, and providence or nature had formed a line by winding there, within about a hundred yards, would I think not have been above two inches rise at the yard. And since writing this, I have been informed there is another line much easier and shorter than either of these, and would have been less expensive, but for want of attention in the trustees. They have chosen the worst of the three. In many parts they have cut through valuable land where the old road laid, some within three, five, ten, twenty, some one hundred yards of the new road, where by a little winding, they would have had the benefit of an old, good, solid road, and have saved money, land, and the loss and inconvenience to the poor tenants.

When a new road is to be executed, the trustees should go over the line repeatedly, or again and again, and make every inquiry and observation, to find out the best and cheapest line, before they determine upon it, and direct and control their engineer and surveyor, and not have to blame them when the mischief is done. Had they observed this rule, and made this road by the plan I advise, and did advise them and which they repeatedly approved, I do think they might have saved much above ten thousands pounds, in making this eight miles of road. Engineers and ingenious men, are superior and most valuable in their own way. But the attention of the trustees, and plain pleading men of hard experience on this and many other occasions, would have been found superior to them.

I can say as much against the diverting of the road from Horbury Bridge to Grange-Moor, about four miles, it should have gone up the valley by Smithy Brook, close to the Quarry, and over Emroyd Common, a piece of bad land, covered with coal pit and iron stone hills, which land over Emroyd would have been given them, and saved much expence, and avoided cutting the best of land to pieces, removing a house and two barns out of their way, cutting through two hills and through a garden, and filling up a valley, and the road would have been much easier; a moderate fall all the way, over even plain ground, no impediment, no house, barn, or hill to remove, or garden to buy at the price the owner choose to take, and they would have had a quarry of good hard stone close to the middle of the line of the road, both to make and repair it in future, so that they appear to have followed the bad example of the Dewsbury and Leeds trustees. I think they have wasted two thousand pounds in about four miles, and the road would have been better by thousands to the public, if they had taken the better line, and it should have gone close to the new Grange farm house, and crossed the Caphouse valley, a little lower, where it is not half so wide as where they did cross, and been a much better and easier road.

And a new road was lately opened from Sheffield; through Glossop, towards Manchester, was estimated at eleven thousand pounds, and they say has cost between thirty and forty thousand, for want of attention and prudence in the trustees. I have no way of accounting for these three greater errors, but want of attention in the trustees, for I have the honor and pleasure of knowing many of the Dewsbury and Leeds, and also Wakefield and Anerstern road trustees, and from my own knowledge, I think them clever and very superior men.

These three pieces of extravagance, folly, and want of attention in trustees, and my attending above ten turnpike meetings at Barnsley, without intermission, where several diversions are contemplated in the road from Barnsley to Bradford, (in doing which we have found much difficulty) have excited my attention to discharge my duty to the public, by writing this upon turnpike-roads, which may perhaps be applied to all other trustees of turnpike-roads in the united kingdom. Many gentlemen are frightened and disgusted, and afraid of meddling with turnpike-roads, so many do not pay, and the repairs of them are thrown upon gentlemen's tenants, occasioned by extravagance, for want of attention from the trustees, and nothing else.

The Dewsbury and Leeds trustees take all the tolls, and have thrown the repairs of their new road upon the poor tenants, though they are not able to live upon their farms at their present rents and taxes, though it was only opened in March, 1817. And I am informed the township of Soothill has agreed to give the trustees £110. per year, to free them from the repairs of about two miles of this new road; had they executed this road with prudence and attention, they would have prevented this oppression—does not such call aloud for a remedy.

I am almost afraid of publishing this censure upon the want of attention in trustees, and bad management of turnpike-roads, for fear—should make it a pretence for taking the roads into their hands; was that ever to happen, we should have the land covered with petty tyrants, which none could, or would control. But I say, God forbid this ever happening in this once happy land of freedom and liberty.

I always understood, that in old times, when money was so plentiful, that every man's pocket was full, and could pay his way with ease and pleasure, that it was the practice of trustees of roads to be wary and cautious, and to use all good economy, with a view to keep low, and reduce the tolls, and relieve the payers as much as possible. But now when nineteen men out twenty feel themselves in poverty, and unable to pay their way comfortably, is it not wonderful, that trustees should so far forget their duty of economy, and adopt extravagance; and only think of advancing tolls at the time they should study every means to reduce them, and to see that every one travel a fair proportion of the road for his money, and not take most of the toll at one end of the road, or by side bars, which is too much the practice, which side bars have been occasioned by bar farmers. I occasionally visit a friend at the distance of five miles, and have to pass three bars, side bars or chains, on three roads, and they take from me 4*d*. though I do not travel much above half a mile upon all the three roads. I do think this is great injustice to me and others.

Here I cannot avoid expressing my feelings and charity for the poor mail coach horses, whom government have lately ordered shall be driven at the rate of ten miles per hour, which I am sure few horses will bear long; and I am equally sure there is no necessity for it, and that it increaseth the danger to the travellers, and that the cruelty is a disgrace to our country. A poor horse running in the coach, lately fell down dead at Waterloo-Bridge, near Huddersfield; and another dropped down the moment he arrived at the White Bear, in Barnsley. I fear many thousands of these noble, generous, useful animals are thus sacrificed, in the year, in different parts of the kingdom.

The following extract from the Leeds Mercury of the 30th of August, 1823, I hope will confirm my opinion, and help to abate this useless oppression and cruelty to the poor horses, and needless hurry and danger to the travellers.

"We have received a very pathetic and vigorous remonstrance against the proposed arrangement for effecting the post office communication, between this place and London, in three instead of four days. Like the box of Pandora, our correspondent represents this project as full of mischief, without finding hope, even at the bottom. His first alligation is, that it would kill the mail coach horses. His next fear is, that it would harrass the post-master and his assistants, by turning night into day. The merchants' clerks, he says, would have to fag at the wrong end of the day, and their morals would be exposed to the danger of late hours. The ladies he alleges, would oppose the measure, en masse, as it would break up their social evening circles, and destroy their husbands' repose. In a word it would, as he conceives, contract the enjoyment of the servant, and increase the anxieties of the master, without producing any benefit, except to speculators and adventurers."

Having advocated the cause of the poor, in my letter to Mr. Scarlett; and here accused trustees of roads of want of attention, allow me to guess the turnpike-tolls, and toll bar farmers, cost the nation ten millions per annum, more or less. And yet I never heard a complaint from superiors against this extravagant tax. Then how singular, that all superiors appear to have combined in complaining of the cost of the poor, more than any other tax, which I guess does not amount to four millions per annum, or above half what they are charged with, if a fair account was taken; for I believe many thousands are charged to their account, which does not belong to it. On this last very important subject, I hope I have not written in vain. And that the whole nation will join me in approving the law, and consider it the brightest jewel in the constitution, and rejoice that the wisdom of our forefathers gave us such a law as no other nation in the world enjoys, and attend and see it properly executed, and always in favor of charity. Shall I call the present deplorable, miserable state of Ireland, where they have no poor law, in support of my argument? or shall I call upon your charity and sound policy, in support of the same? I will go

further, and call upon the vitals of your best private interest. Are not the poor the relatives of you or your forefathers? and will none of your children or children's children have to apply for relief from the town? Have not we all been poor? and can you tell who is not to be poor? Then I beg we may hear no more complaining of the poor tax, but rejoice that we have such a tax; where there are objects relieve them bountifully, and let your overseers make no more hard bargains with them, by threatening them with the workhouse. And consider you might have been in their situation. But attend and reduce the turnpike-tax, and I will join you heartily in that. Or I will join you in executing the poor law properly, but not uncharitably. That law does not say the idle man shall ride upon the industrious man's back. I do hope from this time the poor will be considered one of the most important earthly subjects. Have not they fought our battles? and have not they conquered and saved us from ruin? Repeal the select vestry act, and let the poor law be administered by the worthy magistrates, overseers, and inhabitants, as usual, it cannot be in better hands, or better executed than by them.

I can even trace the merits of the english poor to the battle of Waterloo, they fought and gained that battle. And when the Duke of Wellington, was complimented upon the victory, his lordship said, no, the merit is not due to me, but the superior physical force, and invincible constancy of the british soldier.

### Weighing Machines.

The weighing machines are a great expence, a nuisance, a plague to the poor carriers and others, both summer and winter, and dont do the least service to the road. They do no good in frost. They do no good in fine dry summer weather. And in wet weather, when they would carry a few hundreds too much, the most keen eyed philosopher could not tell the difference a few hundreds would make to the wear of the road, supposing the poor carrier had to take it to oblige his customer. But it ought to be considered, that he goes his stages loaded or not loaded, and perhaps at times with half a load or no load, and has the tolls to pay. But many gentlemen can prove that they do an unknown injury, for they are generally let with the toll bars. And instead of doing service, they only give the bar-keeper an arbitrary power of extorting money at his discretion from the poor carrier; then he may carry as much weight as his poor horses can carry, if he only satisfy them. Or perhaps they may agree by the year; then they are completely useless as to the preservation of the road, for they may carry as much weight as they please all the year round. Not long since a miller paid £6. for a boiler passing Agbrigg machine, near Wakefield, upon six or nine inch wheels.

On the 15th of February, 1822, a gentleman's waggon, with six inch wheels, was weighed at the machine at Sandal Bar, near Wakefield, loaded with furniture,

which could not be loaded in little room, and was charged seventeen cwt. overweight. And also one with three inch wheels was charged twenty-five cwt. overweight; for both of which the bar-keeper demanded £15. 18s. 0d.

On the 27th of March, Deacon, Harrison and Co. the carriers waggon with six inch wheels, at the same machine was charged thirty-eight cwt. overweight, amounting to £24. 19s. 6d. for which they took a horse out of the team, and sold him by auction, without ever demanding the money; which might have been a much heavier loss, by delaying the goods, had they not been near home to get another horse. Deacon, Harrison, and Co. weighed all these goods and empty waggon separate, and proved to the satisfaction of a respectable bench of magistrates at the Wakefield Court-House, that the bar-keeper had overcharged them near £8. yet they said no redress could be had but at common law. And as they proved the gentleman's goods were as much overcharged in proportion, they have both commenced actions to seek redress at law. How well that these are rich men, and will, if possible, do themselves justice. But poor men submit to such abuses, rather than have the trouble, and hazard the expense, of a law suit. I hope these reasons will induce trustees of roads to abolish weighing machines as an useless needless plague to the public, and of no use to the road.



### *Letting of Toll Bars.*

Why do trustees of turnpike roads continue that pernicious practice of letting the tolls to opulent men, who treat poor bar-keepers like dogs, by changing them from place to place, and often turning them out of their houses without employ, at a moment's warning, and have been the cause of the side or pick pocket bars being set up. These bar takers make combinations, gain much money by this idle trade, for doing worse than nothing, and exercise oppression upon poor travellers and bar-keepers. Cannot the trustees, their clerk and surveyor, manage a few poor harmless bar-keepers, as well as rich bar-takers. They say there is one in Yorkshire has gained forty thousand pounds by this very idle trade; and they travel hundreds of miles to look after these poor bar-keepers. I do believe from my own observation, confirmed by that of others, that the bar-takers have gained by the Wakefield and Austerland Road, twenty thousand pounds within little more than twenty years past; would not these, and other sums they have wasted, have enabled them to reduce the tolls, instead of advancing them, and allowed them to have given the poor workmen and bar-keepers better wages, made them honest, comfortable, and happy.

I now appeal to the sundry lettings of their bars, for the truth of this my assertion.

Trustees appear so fond of letting the tolls, that one would almost be led to believe they thought the toll-takers brought more travellers upon the roads, or kept the road in repair, or did some good to the road, that nobody else could do but them. If they will examine

and consider, they will find they do none of the three; nor anything, but what they, their clerk and surveyor, can do much better than them, and on many occasions, with less trouble and vexation, than they have with the bar-takers. To enumerate the misfortunes that have happened to many good men, occasioned by the weighing machines, bar-farmers, and oppressive tolls, would take a volume to explain. I know much evil that has been occasioned thereby, too tedious to describe. I expect these complaints against weighing machines and letting of toll bars, may be applied to all turnpike-roads in the united kingdom. I do most sincerely advise all trustees to take all the bars into their own hands, and give their clerks, surveyors, and bar-keepers better wages, and make their places worth having; then the bar-keepers will not cheat, but be honest, happy, and comfortable. I also advise them to let the workmen upon the roads have better wages, to enable them to work, eat, drink, and live comfortable, and no longer let the bar-farmers get the money, which they and their road ought to have for their own benefit, and to enable the trustees to reduce the tolls. The clerks, surveyors, bar-keepers, and workmen upon the roads, form a great body in society, and have as just a claim to protection and comfort as any other men, and as well qualified to discharge their duty with honor and integrity. Then why should the bar-keepers be treated like traitors and vagabonds? why are not they to be made comfortable as the servants of individuals? And I do think if the trustees will please to consider this subject well, they will find they have more trouble and vexation with the rich bar-takers, than they would have with the poor bar-keepers; and the trouble and vexation the bar-takers give the public is boundless.

And I beg leave to observe, that I think one horse carts should be allowed to run wheels of such breadth, as is most convenient to the owners. And that the same indulgence should be allowed to all other owners of carriages. Because I argue, that roads are made for the use, benefit, and convenience of travellers. And that travellers are not made for the use, benefit, and convenience of roads.

A question has arisen out of the provisions of the new turnpike act, that it may be somewhat difficult to determine. By the 10th section of that act, it is provided—

"That nothing herein contained relating to the breadth of the wheels of carriages, or to the tolls payable thereon, shall extend or be construed to extend to any chaise, marine, coach, landau, berlin, barouche, sociable, chariot, calash, hearse, break, chaise, curriole, gig, chair, or taxed cart, market cart, or other cart for the conveyance of passengers or light goods or articles."

The question is, what are *light goods*? The merchants and manufacturers say, every description of manufactures come under that designation; but the toll-bar contractors hold, that woollen cloths and stuff pieces are not light goods, and insist that every cart or waggon laden with them must either have the felloes of their wheels of the breadth of four and a half inches, or pay an extra toll for running with narrow wheels,

*Leeds Mercury, 23d May, 1828.*

## TURNPIKE TOLLS, 1823.

Mr. Cobbett has been exerting himself very laudably and with his usual zeal, to put an end to the exactions which have been practised by many of the toll-bar keepers in the neighbourhood of London, and by some in the country; and to prevent these impositions in future, he has published in his last register, the following clear exposition of the laws regarding the tolls on one horse carts:

In 1823, an act was passed, laying an additional toll on one horse carts with narrow wheels. This additional toll was one-half of the old toll: so that, a toll that was 3d. became 4½d. This act went into force in January last; and the tolls were then raised accordingly. But mind, tax carts, market carts, and carts for light goods and passengers were EXCEPTED. These were not to be charged any additional toll; and they were not; but the additional toll was laid on all other carts; and the toll-collectors so interpreted the law, as to find but very few exceptions: for they made the poor ass cart men pay the additional toll.

On the 19th July, 1823, another act was passed, and this new act, in order to do away this exaction of the toll-collectors, and to leave no room for dispute, made (in clause 19) the EXEMPTION to extend, immediately, to ALL one horse carts. So that from that day, all additional toll on one horse carts ceased. And whoever has taken any additional toll on ANY one horse cart, since 19th July last, is liable to a penalty of £5.

It may be proper to add, for the information of farmers and others, that it is not sufficient that they should have their names and places of residence placed at the front of the carts, but they must have them put on the side, or they will be liable to the same penalty as if the name was not at all upon the cart.

Mr. Cobbett appeared at Bow-Street on Monday, and laid informations against several turnpike toll-collectors, for having taken too high a toll from poor men, who keep one horse carts. The magistrates convicted them in the penalties for the offence. It appears that they had extorted at least £5. a day more than they had a claim to.

*My new Plan of Road Making, forty-five feet broad outside the Walls or Hedges.*

¶. 1.

2 0 The causeway at the upperside.

2 0 The path between the causeway and the wall for the foot people to turn off or walk upon when dry.

30 0 Stoned six inches thick of stone broke from three to four inches square from side to side, exclusive of the covering; to be covered two or three inches thick with furnace sludges or dross, engine ashes, burnt stone, brick or gravel, then the stone may be broke three to four inches square, then they will be porous and let the water through; stoned close to the causeway, near the top, so that foot or horse may turn off or on to the causeway without trouble.

17 0 Upstoned, not one stone or any thing hard to be put upon it for a summer road.

4 0 The walls or hedges, but I advise hedges on the low side, then the water will run through them into the fields. The walls two feet wide at the bottom, twelve inches at the top, four feet high.

45 or 50 yds. total breadth outside of the walls or hedges.

To fall all one way, (called an inclined plain) so little that you can just see it falls, and that the water will run off, and the stoned and unstoned must join the very same as if it was all stoned, so that carriages may go from one to the other with ease at their pleasure. But it requires much care, attention, and ingenuity to do this well. The causeway to be laid on the highest side. A stone gutter to carry the water down on the low side where it does not run into the fields. But care must be taken to let it into the fields as much as possible, through the hedges or walls, to prevent it washing the road, which is too common. This appears one of the safest, easiest, pleasantest, cheapest, and most simple experiments that ever was made, for if the unstoned be not approved it can be stoned after it is tried, and if six inches of stone and two or three inches of covering be not enough, it may be increased. The turnpike house should have two rooms on the ground floor, five yards square each, with a pantry or cellar that will keep a little malt liquor, and a garden, &c. the house door at the end, a window on each side near the end, that they may see the travellers come. I advise the turnpike gate posts to be made of stone; in this stone county I expect will come cheaper than wood and more durable, and to be set with stone between them, and the fence walls four feet high. By this new mode of road making, carriages may all travel on their own or left side and not in the middle, and save the trouble of turning each other a side.

*Old fashioned Plan, forty to forty-five feet broad outside the Walls.*

30 Feet broad all stoned and left uncovered, the rest causeway, walls and ditches.

18 Inches thick, stoned at the crown.

15 Inches stoned at the ribs, or half way between the crown and skirt.

9 Inches thick, stoned at the skirt.

Barrelled or round so much, that carriages all travel in the middle of the road, and a deep dangerous ditch on each side. Compare them and see if half may not be saved, both at first making, and in repairs after made.

Another pernicious effect, occasioned by the pernicious practice of letting toll bars, which I have been desired to insert since I had finished upon road-making.

The voracious bar-takers are never satisfied without every penny they can rake together, whatever inconvenience they occasion to the bar-keepers or travellers. They require the bars to be kept shut all night, whatever the loss, danger or inconvenience be to the bar-keepers or travellers. The medical gentleman, or any other comes on horseback on a rainy, snowy, cold, frosty night; or a coach or other carriage, they are all stopped starving till the poor bar man can get out with half his clothes on. The medical gentleman in haste, on life and death, and all others exposed to the dreary cold night, and the poor bar-keeper exposed, and de-

prived of his rest and sleep, all for the chance of a penny or two. If any one happen to come in the dead of night, a thousand to one but he has paid that day, or will be taken at some other bar on the road, there are now so many bars; or if he come early in the morning, a thousand to one but he will return that day, or be taken at some other bar for want of a ticket. All this hurry, loss of time, and danger to the health of the bar-keepers and travellers, for the chance of a penny or nothing; but supposing a trifle should be gained, I appeal to all gentlemen trustees of roads, whether the loss of the health of the bar-keepers, and others, and the inconvenience to all the travellers, by being stopped on a bad night, will not overbalance the chance of gain a thousand times fold; and if they keep the toll-bars in their own hands, whether they would not allow the bars to be thrown open from ten at night, to four in the morning, to accommodate their friends, the public who support the road, and also the poor faithful bar-keepers.

In addition to the evils described above, the poor bar-keeper is exposed to the danger of being murdered and robbed in the dead of night, as the thieves know they always have money; this fear must be a great terror to the poor bar-keepers, and make them very unhappy.

# AGRICULTURE.

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*To the Lords of the Soil, and their Tenants.—*

*Showing them the Way to the Prosperity or  
ruin of their Estates and Farms.*

My Lords and Gentlemen,

As it is the custom in some parts of this kingdom for the landlord to be owner of the tenant-right, and that our custom of the tenant being owner, is called local; a very important question very naturally arises between the two, viz.—Whether it be more for the benefit of the landlord, the tenant, and improvement of the soil, that the landlord should be owner of the tenant-right, even when he has purchased it of the tenant; or, that the tenant should continue to be the owner, as is the custom in this part of the kingdom. I confess that my opinion is in favor of the custom of this part of the country, because I think it emulates and excites a greater spirit of industry, ingenuity and independence in the tenant; and makes no difference to the landlord, but what is greatly in his favor, by keeping the land in better condition than the landlord being owner of the tenant-right. And the off-going tenant receiving, and the on-coming tenant paying to him, appears to me the only security for the landlord to have his estate in the happiest state of cultivation and condition, and to have good tenants, which makes £20. per acre difference, between that and being run out of condition, and made very poor.

Since writing the above, I have been in the East-Riding of Yorkshire, and am informed, where the landlord is owner of the tenant-right, and requires the tenants to take six months' leases, restraining them from selling hay and straw, and binding them to a particular course of husbandry, the tenants are universally poor, weak and debilitated, and unable to cultivate and till the land to perfection, and will soon be unable to pay their rents and taxes, if they be not both reduced. For want of the encouragement which ought to be given to them, by the tenant being owner of the tenant-right, as is the custom of our part, which ought to be practiced all over the world. Because I do think it is the only way to revive them, and give them strength, vigour, courage, industry and enterprize. Where this is not the case, the tenants are getting all they can out of the land, and making it poor, with a view to leave it, or fall under the load; in either of which dire cases, the ruin of the gentlemen's estates will inevitably follow. This being of the utmost importance to the interest of all landlords, I do think it is worthy of their best attention; and also that of their stewards.

My object in wishing to see this published to the world is, to see that sterling, old english, good old-fashioned custom restored in the minds of the landlords, to prefer the old tenant, or his most distant relative, (which fashion, the last war and high price of corn has unfortunately banished with some for a time) and to engrave the great truth, that their interest is mutual, reciprocal, and inseparable; and that that measure, which will hurt one, will hurt the other, serve one, will serve the other, eventually. And that they are partners; and it is a partnership of such a nature, that they cannot dissolve without injury to both. And that I do sincerely hope all landlords will treat both their old and new tenants, (who are the most numerous and most valuable parts of society) with that judgment and tenderness, which their present distressed condition requires and calls aloud for; by reducing their rents, and parliament their taxes, without delay, neither of which can be paid long; for which I know many of them have long been inclined to petition, but dare not, for fear of giving offence to their landlords. When these two very needful acts are done, then we shall all rejoice, and be thankful to the Almighty for the great, plenty, and good harvests bestowed upon us, and enjoy our native comfort and happiness, superior to any people in the known world.

Since writing the above, some discerning, experienced, judicious men have said to me—the distress and weakness of the tenants are become so great, and by this cause the land is gone and going out of condition, and becoming so poor, that a famine (in these once fertile islands) will follow, if the landlords do not prevent it, by relieving the farmers by a reduction of rents, and parliament of taxes. And that many farms are become masters of the tenants, and will also become masters of the landlords, if they do not prevent it. It is a great error in landlords supposing, that because their tenants pay their rents, they are doing well. If they will please to consider how anxious every man is, and how necessary it is, to preserve his credit, and guard against the horror of the predators called bailiffs, coming and breaking up his humble, only, lonely home and whole establishment, and selling his goods at the rate of fifty per cent. or more under their value, when they are, to the owner, worth 150. or £200. per cent. These are the reasons why tenants borrow money to pay their rents, or pay them out of the scanty capital they have saved by their industry and economy in their youth, in better times, to support them in their declining years.

And it is almost as great an error in supposing they are to gain by new tenants; because if a new one enters to a farm in good condition, without paying for the

tenant-right, he may make it worse by 10 or £20. per acre, before the landlord or steward be aware of it, and then fall under the load which the old one would not or could not carry, and then be forced to quit the farm, to the irreparable injury of the landlord.

I have the honor to be, most respectfully,  
My Lords and Gentlemen,  
Your most obedient humble Servant,  
RICHARD MILNES.

*Custom of this Country between off-going and on-coming tenants to farms.*

The custom of this part of the kingdom between the off-going and on-coming tenant, is so much the mutual benefit of the landlord and tenant, and the only certain way to improve the soil, and keep the farm in the highest state of cultivation and condition, that I do think it ought to be known to, and practiced by, all the world: which is as follows.—They enter to the farm the 2d. of February, or candlemas day, and the housing the 1st day of May; one-third of the farm always to be grass, and liberty to use and cultivate the other to the best of their skill and judgment.

1st.—The hay, corn, straw and manure are the property of the tenant, to be paid for by the landlord or new tenant, to the old one when he quits the farm; which appears to me the only sure way to keep the farm in high condition, which is always the landlord's best interest, and the most sure way to encourage the tenant to exercise his ingenuity, his strong arm, labour, and his purse for the benefit of his landlord, himself, and the succeeding tenant.

2d.—The manure or lime laid upon grass and fallows, and no crop taken to be paid for, and also the carriage and spreading on, also for tillage and half tillage, which implies upon fallows plowing, harrowing, quicking, and all other labour.

3d.—The manure or lime laid on grass and fallows, and one crop taken, to be considered half tillage, and half as much paid as by No. 2. The off-going tenant is also entitled to the way-going crops, that is wheat sowed upon bean stubble and clover lays.

4th.—Wheat sowed.—5th.—Clover.—6th.—Fallows. All these depend upon circumstances, situation, and condition, and the value of them must be ascertained by the two valuers, and paid for accordingly.

*New tenants prefered to old ones.*

Though farms are universally too dear, and tenants break upon them, and many landlords kind, friendly, and well-disposed to relieve their tenants, but it is unfortunate that young ones offer to take them, and perhaps some at the old rents, though it is said they are generally let lower to new tenants than old ones, these are young men of little experience, adventures, willing to play the game at hazards, and where the tenant right is not paid as above, they can enter with little capi-

tal, though a farmer of one hundred acres ought to have one thousand pounds to keep his farm in good condition, and so in proportion for a greater quantity. But where the tenant-right is not demanded of them, they enter with small capital, and if the farm be in good condition, they may run and impoverish it, and soon make it worse by from £10 to £20 per acre, before it can be discovered by the landlord or steward, become poor and unable to pay their rent, and perhaps leave the farm worse by one or two thousand pounds, if it be a large one, than when they entered. Some tenants will not give up till they fall under their load, others will not waste their substance and spoil. I do think landlords had better encourage and keep their old tenants, with their experience, by lowering the rents and taxes, where rents were raised according to the past times of prosperity.

**ADVICE TO FARMERS.**

*How to get their Corn in bad Harvests.*

My advice to the farmer, is to take great care to have his sheaves made small, and to have them set up in eights, well and neatly set up, and hooded, then they will be ready for bad weather, and sure to be right if good come; and when it is dry, to get it in if possible by day or by night, regardless of the glass, the fine weather, or talk of your neighbours; but be particularly careful not to get it before dry, which is an error too common among farmers; had this rule been observed in the year 1821, much corn would have been well got, which was spoiled. The wind in the 1st of October was so strong, it blew the sheaves from the carts and stacks as they laid them on, and though very useful to dry the corn that was out, it shook some late wheat that was uncut, as much as two loads per acre, and some late oats, where the farmer could not raise strength to cut them soon as ripe, were almost half of them shook on to the ground; this is a proof that the farmer's work is never done, it requires his attention almost day and night, and he may farm seven years, and have seven different seasons to consult; after this tedious troublesome harvest, the month of October prov'd fine indeed, with a brisk wind, the late corn on the borders of the mountains, second clips of clover and beans were got well in this month, where they had patience to let them get dry. As a proof of what I have said above, about being active, to get wheat when dry, in the year 1816, I had the finest crop of wheat upon my farm, at Boothroyd, cut and dry on the Saturday, and my experience was such, that I should certainly have got it in that day with my own and hired teams, but being scarce of money, I had to seek for wages for my colliery, and nothing but that prevented me getting this very dry wheat that day; it began to rain on the Sunday, the day after, and rained three or four weeks almost without ceasing, and spoiled all the wheat in the country, cut or not cut; thus missing getting my wheat one single day, was above £100 loss to me, on a very small farm, this £100 would have completely prevented my failure; this long continued wet season, tried the patience of the farmers so much, that many got their corn wet as it was

and dried it upon kilns to make it thresh, and all the wheat was spirit and unsound, cut or not cut, such a wet harvest I never saw before or since, none to compare with it.

### *Further advice how to get Corn in bad harvests.*

I like to have my wheats cut rather green, not to stand till ripe, so as to shake, and I always had them bound in smallish sheaves, set eight only together, four of the largest two and two, and the two smallest at the ends, so that they prop and support each other, and the two longest tied ones opened well and drawn up close to each other over the six, and by so doing I scarcely ever had a stack blown down, not even with a very strong wind, the two cap sheaves must be tied together by twisting a little of the but ends of the sheaves (on both sides) together, and when this done and the cap sheaves spread nicely over the other six, neither wind nor rain will hurt the wheat, if it stands out for three, four, or five weeks, being so well covered below the ties; for no one practical failing in a Farmer is greater or more ridiculous or injurious than carrying his crops of any sort, too hastily off, as there is ten times more corn injured by being got in too great a hurry, than by stopping too long in the field. And when wheats are cut rather green and covered as above, the straw will feed the corn, and make the flour better and finer.

### *Tenants not being allowed to sell Hay or Straw.*

I think I have observed in my defence of the poor, that there is nothing more common than blaming the whole of them for the faults of a few, this may with equal force be applied to farmers, who by their leases are forbid selling hay or straw, and restrained in other respects, saying it shall be consumed upon their own premises, for fear of making the land poor; this bar is to guard against a bad tenant doing so, and yet it is a clause in all the leases, from such landlords as admit of such a one, and a punishment to all good tenants, for the supposed offence of the few, very few bad ones.

I do think there is nothing more plain than that any injury done to the tenant or farm, will eventually be an injury to the landlord. The tenants are almost universally required to pay more rent and taxes than they are able to pay, with that comfort which I am sure every landlord would wish his tenant to enjoy; then I beg leave to ask, ought they not to have the liberty to get the best price they can for their hay and straw, occasionally, as well as their corn, beef, mutton, wool, &c. for it is only by chance they can or will sell their hay or straw, they will always guard against selling too much, they must and will keep enough for their own stock of cattle. They buy lime and other tillage to their farm, and every best method they can devise, by their labour and ingenuity in the cultivation, to make the land most productive, then why not be allowed to sell hay and straw, occasionally, when they can get a good price, and be assured they will not sell it at any other time.

From this time I hope to hear that the above-mentioned bar to selling hay and straw is removed, and that no shackles remain in the way of farmers, except that simple one, of always having one third of the farm in grass, which I consider a benefit to the tenant, and consequently to the landlord, for to change the land from grass to corn, and corn to grass often, is most profitable. In every other respect let the tenant live as free as the air he breathes, put no check upon his emulation, industry or ingenuity, let him enjoy them all, and the freedom of this once happy land, so justly famed for its liberty and freedom, let them enjoy them both as the only true source of this country's wealth and greatness, and be assured they will then be all good tenants under these inestimable comforts, and if one happen not to be so, mend him if possible, but don't destroy the pleasure and emulation of the whole of this numerous and valuable body, the farmers, by punishing the many for the faults of the few. Let them work under all their difficulties without fear and trembling.

### *Stabbing edges and adding field to field, I disapprove.*

Though this is too common, I think it a very unprofitable practice, in this populous part of the kingdom, where small fields and small arms are so much wanted. By mowing a field of grass and giving it fresh to the cattle every day, as they want it, a field will perhaps produce almost twice as much grass as the same field would produce if they were turned into it to eat it bare, dung, tread, and lie down upon the grass; and being fresh every day, they feed more heartily, but the labour of mowing and feeding them is to deduct. Four fields at Flockton, 8*A.* 1*R.* 0*P.* have this summer served one head of cattle more by being in four fields, than they would have carried if they had been all in one, and they have four fresh pastures instead of one, over and above the convenience of keeping the cattle separate, if it happen you want to do so, or let them in single fields, or small farms.

### *Early Sowing.*

When I was a farmer of between 4 and 500 acres, experience taught me that early sowing gives the best hope of a good crop, and also early reaping. I once had a field upon a clay soil, some part of it wet land, and required watching to get it sowed in time, I told my husbandman to sow it, he said it was too wet, it had better wait; I said sow it, I will have it done, you know you have much to do, your dry land you can sow any time after; being almost forced he did sow it with oats, though some part of it was so wet the horses could scarcely get their feet out, the day after he had finished it began to rain, and rained a month almost without ceasing, so that it could not have been done of a month after, in that time it sprung up and gained strong root, was ready for the hot sun, flourished, and was the heaviest crop within many miles; but if I had

missed the day I had it sowed, perhaps the crop would not have been above half as good; if it had been sowed when the sun had become too powerful, and a want of rain. This husbandman was a very clever fellow, with many good qualities, but he had two great faults, one was letting the ground get too dry before he sowed it, another was wanting to get his corn before it was dry. He would often come to me and say, such a close of Oats wants leading; I said, they are not dry; but he said, it is going to rain; I said, let it rain; I wish it may rain and wet them through, then you will let them be till they are dry. I remember a large field of Barley being sowed the 2d of February, at Micklefield, a little North of Ferrybridge, on a limestone soil, a great snow came after, and it was covered some time; this proved the heaviest crop of Barley, was ripe and got in very dry, and much sooner than any within many miles of it. A rainy season began soon after this was in, and spoiled all the Barley in that part, because none was sowed so early. A prejudice appears to prevail against early sowing, but I do think where it is once wrong, it is more than six times right. Observe the gardener, does not he sow and plant early? and is it not rational? for if you wait till the sun has exhaled the wet, and rain do not come soon after you have sowed, how can your corn get a strong and deep root, for want of moist and rain, which you have missed by a little delay. Always sow too soon rather than too late, and much or little to do, you cannot do all at once; and consider the loss of a week or two moist in the spring, how much harm it may do to your crop. Watch your season and seed time, even more than your dry corn in harvest; fine dry weather will come again, if you will let it remain out, but the same season for sowing will never return in the same spring; remember this, in favor of early sowing, both in spring and autumn, will generally be followed by early reaping. When your land is in condition, get it sowed soon as you can.

### *Hay-Making.*

In hay-making, whether you have two or two hundred acres, or any quantity between them two, I advise you to begin early, and only cut as much down at once, as your number of hands are equal to make, and get up, and into the house, or stack when dry; then cut the same quantity more, and get it in, and so on through the season; and by this rule you will not run the risk of having much spoiled. I have known when I have had a large quantity down at once, and even got into cock, the rain has come so heavy, and continued so long wet and warm, as to wet the cocks to the bottom, and spoil the hay; but the above simple rule will be a security against much loss and damage, and you can never have much spoiled; and you will also find it the cheapest way to get good hay.

There may be an exception to, and this rule may be varied a little, when the weather appears settled, and very fine, or very wet; but if you observe this rule, you defy the weather, and never need to have much spoiled.

### *Springs produced by boring for Coal.*

When I lived at Crow Nest, and was Lord of the Manor of Dewsbury, I bored for coal on the waste in the valley near the river, at bottom of Daw Green, near Dewsbury, from 40 to 50 yards deep, which brought a never failing spring of water, most useful to the village. I also bored upon Batley Carr, a waste in the valley, near Dewsbury, about 50 yards deep, and found a spring of excellent soft water, which fills the bore hole, never abates or increases, winter or summer, is most useful to Batley Carr cloth mill, and the whole village, the people fetch it a long way in their pitchers, both these springs rise out at the surface without the use of pump or any other machine. In Tottenham, near London, it had been an universal complaint, that no good water could be procured; the wells reached only to the blue clay, which at length has been pierced through, and a never failing supply obtained, of clear and brilliant water, soft, and adapted to every domestic purpose, the wells from 110 to 140 feet deep. The practice of boring may prove of vast consequence on down and wold farms, where such distress is always experienced in dry seasons, for water for the supply of cattle, and every other purpose, especially where it happens to rise to the surface, as above.

### *Local management of spring woods.*

Another local practice in this part of the kingdom, very important to the interest and pleasure of gentlemen, owners of wood lands; suppose one to have 210 acres only, they let them stand till they are twenty-one years old; and by selling 10 acres every year, they have a perpetual fall of 10 acres, which may be cut down in the same proportion every year, where there are a greater number of acres. When a fall is to be sold, the woodman first sets it out for sale, by going through the wood, and marking a proper number of all sorts, for reserves, to stand for improvement, of the handsomest he can find, of 21 years old, grown from old roots, acorns, or other seeds, and rings them round with red paint, which he calls wafers; and also a proper number of the handsomest of 42 year's old, which he rings round with red, and calls poles; and also a proper number of the handsomest of 63 years old, which he calls black barks, and rings them round and numbers them with white paint; and also a proper number of the handsomest of 84 or 105 year's old, or upwards, which he calls lordlings, or lords of the forest, and rings them round with white paint, and numbers them, these are all to stand for improvement, then he values all the rest for sale.

By this practice, the growth is abundantly more promoted, than letting them stand crowded above 21 years, by weeding and giving them room and air every 21 years, and produceth an assortment of all sorts and ages, for the sale every year, to the great use and accommodation of the public; and every fall produceth firewood, cordwood for charcoal, hedgewood and bindings for fences, timber, poles, and rails. And it would be an improvement to plant willows in the soft and boggy parts of the woods.

It is very singular that this useful, pleasant, and most profitable rule, is almost confined to the West-Riding of the County of York; and part of Derbyshire; though it might be practised with the same degree of success all over the United Kingdom; and all the world.

The Woods lately taken down are very ornamental, pleasant, and convenient for shooting or hunting through them. And where they are not so cut, they are very disagreeable for hunters or shooters to pass through, and an incalculable loss to the owners.

I am sorry to have to observe and remark in my travels, that the fashion of late has been to plant wood little better than weeds; as if the planters were out of temper with the ancient valuable forest trees, the oak, ash, elm, sycamore, beech, &c. which are the most useful timber, but few very few of them are to be seen in our modern plantations. The larch is a handsome quick growing tree, and I think I have heard almost as durable as oak. This neglect, and destroying the lords of the forest, would have been seriously felt, had not our eminent iron works produced their iron as a substitute for oak in many occasions.

Last war there was so great a want of oak timber, they built some ships of fir, which is much inferior to oak; and the want of crooked timber for knees was so great, they were compelled to make some of them of iron, which cannot be fastened so well as oak to oak. These islands produce oak superior to any in the world for ships; ours is most tough, the bolts bore holes in the ships, which they cork or stop up in battle. The oak of other countries is brittle and splinters. And as our wooden walls are our great bulwark of protection and safety, how wonderful that this most valuable timber, the oak, is not more planted, preserved, and encouraged, some way or other, and particularly crooked oak for knees.

The Duke of Norfolk, Earl Fitzwilliam, Earl of Cardigan, Earl of Dartmouth, Sir George Armitage, Bart. Sir John Lister Kaye, Bart. Sir Francis Lindley Wood,

Bart. Sir William Pilkington, Bart. Colonel and Mrs Beaumont. James Archibald Stuart Wentworth, Esq. Godfrey Wentworth Wentworth, Esq. John Spencer Stanhope, Esq. Samuel Shore, of Meersbrook, Esq. Samuel Shore, Jun. of Norton, Esq. —— Beaumont, Esq. of Whitley Hall, Thomas Thosnhill, Esq. —— Winn, Esq. of Nostell, and —— Vernon, Esq. of Wentworth Castle, have lords of the forest, black barks, and poles, in and out of their woods, to their honor. But in one gentleman's woods, which have lately gone down, there are nothing but wafers to be seen.

In growing, a tree increaseth a circle every year; so that larger a tree is, and more it groweth in bale and value; in proportion to its size, which proves how profitable it is to an estate to encourage trees to become lords of the forest.

#### *A Song. Hearts of Oak; or, our Maritime Power.*

Come, cheer up my lads, 'tis to glory we steer,  
To add something more to this wonderful year;  
'Tis to honor we call you, not press you like slaves,  
For, who are so free as we sons of the waves?

We never see our foes but we wish them to stay,  
They never see us but they wish us away;  
If they run, why we'll follow, and drive them ashore,  
And if they won't fight us, what can we do more?

They swear they'll invade us; these terrible foes,  
They frighten our women, our children and beaux;  
But if their flat-bottoms, by darkness, get o'er,  
Still britons they'll find to receive them on shore.

We'll still make 'em run, and we'll still make 'em sweat  
In spite of the devil, and Brussels Gazette;  
Then cheer up my lads, with one voice let us sing,  
"Our soldiers, our sailors, our statesmen and King."

## THE WARNING VOICE.

Shepley Bridge, Mirfield, near Leeds,  
Yorkshire, 26th February, 1812.

To the Nobility, Gentry, Clergy and Freeholders  
of the United Kingdom of Great-Britain and  
Ireland.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

These thoughts having come to me at various times upon my pillow in the morning, when I had worshipped the Almighty, and poured my gratitude to the Omnipotent, for the former and Herculean bestowed upon me, and the whole creation, without respect of persons; it

at length occurred to me to address you at the same season; and in that situation might awake your attention to the unhappy state of our country, and incline you to shew the innate principle and disposition of your nature, by pouring out your charity, humanity, and philanthropy on all our fellow-creatures, in imitation of the All-wise Being, our Creator and Protector in all our difficulties and dangers.

The poor and labourers are starving for bread, because they cannot find work, and it is said many of them have died for want.

Many shopkeepers and little manufacturers have fallen, and are falling to poverty, under oppressive

rents and taxes, and for want of the poor and others being able to procure money to circulate among them.

Many farmers have fallen, and a great mass of them are falling to poverty, under intolerable rents and unbearable taxes.

Many of the inland watermen are done, and coming to poverty, for want of their vessels being employed as usual.

Thousands of soldiers are wandering in search of work, and many of those who have work, as well as many other trades, are limited in price or quantity, and only allowed to earn little more than half what they could do.

Many of our brave lads, the defenders of our country, are begging their bread.

And many of the middling and lower orders are deprived the pleasure of giving, by heavy rents and taxes.

Many of the young, vigorous and ingenuous, emigrate to other countries, where they are received with open arms, because they are jealous of our power, and seeking to rival and undo us, in manufactures, commerce and war.

The rich emigrate, because they can live as well for £300. a-year in France as £1000. per annum here; it is said they are spending millions a-year in France and other countries; the loss of the circulation of this money at home, has brought many to poverty, and added much to the general distress. Should they happen to read this, I hope they will soon return home, and discover that by your and their united efforts, this dear good country, which gave them birth and fortune, may be made to afford them more solid comforts and true happiness, than any other; and that £500. may afford them as much of both as £50,000. a-year.

The two great causes of all these evils are, the unbearable taxes and oppressive rents, both in country and in towns, which sweeps the money from the middling and poor man's table; leaves the farmer and many others without capital, and unable to employ the poor, or work his farm or trade to advantage as usual.

The high price of corn is the cause of all the great evils which come to all nations.

Every government should prevent the high prices of corn we have known at sundry times, within twenty-five years past, which might be done to check the monopolizer, and not hurt the spirit of agriculture and industry. The lesser farmers are hurt by the monopolizers holding the corn.

We have charity, humanity, philanthropy, virtue, prudence, wisdom, talent, piety, experience, local advantages, capital, industry, and mercantile enterprize, superior to any people in the world, and capable to remedy all the evils described above. If we admit that self-love and social are the same, and that it forms the genuine harmony and strength of a state, when the rich encourage and employ the poor, and the poor look up with confidence to the watchful care and guardian protection of the rich, both concurring in the same end, form that grand column of society, the true happiness of the whole, where all below is strength, and all above is grace; and if you will reduce the interest of money, as the most judicious and effectual way to ease the burdens of the people.

Abolish all unmerited sinecure places and pensions;

adopt every possible economy in the public expenditure; reduce rents to the rates they were at, before the war, and high price of corn raised them. Landlords may as well have the honor, happiness and pleasure of doing it voluntarily, for they will have to do it; because the taxes, saddler, blacksmith, carpenter, salt, malt, &c. &c. &c. had all doubled their rents before the land-owners came. This should be done without delay, before the land be thrown out of its regular course of husbandry, and so impoverished as to be beyond the power of landlord or tenant to restore it of several years, and at an unknown expense. If this remedy be not soon applied, it will become a national calamity, for much of the bountiful earth has ceased to yield its full increase, for want of ability in the farmers. Many thousands of poor farmers want to tell this humble tale to their landlords, but dare not, for fear of giving them offence; they say, home is home though ever so homely; they know no other trade, no other place or home where to employ their hands, or rest their weary heads; are forced to take the heavy load upon their shoulders, where they are, and carry it as long as they can, for they cannot live out of doors. But fall they will if you do not invigorate both their body and mind.

It is true, when good men are overtaken by distress, to religion they fly; this, throughout every age, has been the universal shelter which the high and the low, the rich and the poor, the giddy and the serious, have sought to gain, when rest could nowhere else be found for the weary head or aching heart. But I leave you to judge what bad men will do when they are oppressed; and will not oppression change the nature and disposition of good men? I think not a landlord in one hundred will hurt his tenants after he hears these plain facts; and I believe many of their conduct is at variance with their amiable disposition.

Repeal the last impolitic corn bill, and do not proceed to any artificial way of keeping up the price of bread, but consider we are now working nation against nation; and if we do not regulate our affairs so as to meet them with our manufactures at market, on equal terms, and keep in friendship with them, we shall be undone.

Let commercial treaties be made with such powers as may be thought proper, and keep our wool at home for our own use, and do such other good and virtuous acts, as your united wisdom may dictate, and then you will see hope revive the drooping spirit of the nation, industry become busy in every corner of the land, many of the poor become able to support themselves, and assist their relatives or friends; the laudable pride of independence will be restored to them; the prisons will be eased of many thousands. Our amiable, honorable, and venerable judges of the land, will be relieved from many an arduous disagreeable task. Virtue and true religion will flourish and take place of superstition and bigotry; and happiness, harmony, and plenty will take place of poverty, oppression, and discord; sedition and rebellion will be forced to fly from this nation, and be heard of no more; and we shall soon enjoy the same degree of happiness, harmony and power which this nation enjoyed forty years ago.

May the Almighty dictate to you that this is the only

way to save the first nation in the world from ruin, as I feel the aid of heaven in writing this to you.

Do not let us be like the Romans, and other nations, whose examples and warnings we have in history, fall into confusion and ruin for want of benefitting by their example and folly; let us shew we are superior to them all in sound judgment and management of our affairs.

We are a great and mighty nation, let us not fall for want of thought; let us not moulder away before the Almighty calls us hence.

Let not this once happy land, which, like the land of Canaan, floweth with milk and honey, become like the parched desert to the hungry traveller.

The oppression and poverty of man extend to the noble, generous, useful animal, the horse, and also the ass; many of them are pined and worked to death, and have not the power of remonstrating! Does not this tarnish our fairest fame? Is not this a disgrace to our country?

We are all creatures of the Almighty, and were never made to oppress each other; let us study the golden rule, say live and let live, and restore ourselves to our native happiness.

How can you enjoy the good things which Heaven has bestowed upon you, while hundreds of thousands of our fellow-creatures cannot get a living with all their hard labour and toil; and many cannot get bread who are your hands and feet best friends and benefactors; do not forget that they are descended from men of property, and perhaps family, who have flourished like the green bay tree; and little do we know whose hard fate it is to fall into their situation.

The Poor Laws I think perfect, except as to settlements; but there is much fault in the execution; men on this, as well as on many other occasions, neglect their duty, and the law is blamed for the fault in the execution.

The laws are this country's brightest ornament, the most brilliant and most shining jewel in the constitution of England; they make the people work harder than any in the world. We are told that the Irish are an idle people; but when they come here, under the protection of our Poor Laws, none work harder as coal-heavers, carmen, &c. That country has produced many brave, great, and good men; why not produce valuable little men? They only want Poor Laws, and the watchful care and protection of superiors, to mend their pitiable condition. I wish our Poor Laws to exist in every unhappy country in the world. To the honor of the reign of good Queen Bess, and the charity, wisdom and policy of the good people of that age, they gave their children each two valuable fortunes; one that they could soon waste, another that they could never spend, by enacting the Poor Laws, and teaching them to work and attend to the rules of good economy.

To the honor of the village of Mirfield which I have the pleasure to inhabit; they have an open committee on the evening of the days when the poor are paid, and they execute the laws well, and with pleasure; and though generally composed of plain men, they avoid impositions, and when they come to a knotty point, they always decide in favour of charity, and dispatch with speed and satisfaction. They pay the tax with pleasure,

though many of them with much difficulty, owing to the unjustifiable rents and taxes; when any question ariseth about the settlement of a pauper, they do not rashly go to law, but coolly and deliberately inquire into the truth, and if they think he belongs to them, they take him, and if not, they go to the other town, and coolly reason and try to convince themselves he belongs to them; and by this judicious way they have saved the village many hundreds; and I believe many thousands upon thousands are spent in law suits, and other folly and unnecessary expenses, and charged to the account of the poor.

I hope I shall not be thought too sanguine in praise of the Poor Laws, having heard that men cast upon uninhabited islands have eat dogs and horses, and even their own flesh to satisfy hunger; then what a horror it must be to have the idea of being pinched to death. I am, indeed, sorry to hear of all the innocent poor being driven from great towns and cities, and not allowed to beg, where there is the greatest power to relieve; for the fault of a few rogues and vagabonds, the innocent are punished. Why should this be so, when it was said, "If five righteous men were found, the city should be saved?"

I have long anxiously waited expecting to see a more able hand write upon this most important occasion; but knowing that the Almighty might any day call me to his mercy, I could no longer suppress my feelings to discharge my duty to my own dear country and all the world, by writing this in the true spirit of charity, humanity, and philanthropy, and on the firm belief that it is the first bounden duty of every one, to do all in his power to promote the welfare of his country and mankind.

The writer most humbly hopes any errors will be pardoned, and begs leave to have the honor of subscribing himself, with the utmost deference and respect,

My Lords and Gentlemen,  
A true and liberal Friend to my King, my  
Country, and all Mankind.

Shepley-Bridge, Mirfield, by Leeds, Nov. 1820.

To the Nobility, Gentry, Clergy, Freeholders and  
Merchants, of the United Kingdom of Great-  
Britain and Ireland.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

Forty years ago this was the happiest country in the world; every one content and comfortable in his situation. How lamentable! that misery, poverty, discord, and discontent pervade every corner of the land, both in the farming and manufacturing districts, (whose interests are inseparable, and must live or die together;) and increasing with such rapidity as to put the very existence of the state in danger, if a speedy remedy be not applied. None but you can restore us to happiness.

You dear of, and may see, those who have neither power nor ability have begun to apply a cure; but if you do not take the work out of their hands, they will destroy the patient. I beseech you, in the name of all that is sacred and good, do not delay: call public meetings in every county, town, and village in the united kingdom; unite the cool and deliberate wisdom of the nation; throw aside every thought about the past; consider coolly our situation, and you will not differ in opinion upon this most important subject; it is a partnership you cannot dissolve; that measure that will hurt one will hurt another, serve one will serve another.

You are the fathers and masters of the nation, which you may consider as one family, only on a larger scale; restore it as you would snatch your own from the brink of ruin. Your united wisdom will soon discover the deformity of administration, who appear to consider themselves omnipotent, and regardless of you and the people. You will soon discover the imperfection of the House of Commons; and they will soon both admit their own imperfection. They will discover the danger and weakness of their system, and voluntarily surrender their works into your hands; they will become true Patriots, and like every other man in and out of the House, Moderate Reformers; and the work of Reform will speedily be done with ease, pleasure, and to perfection. Do not be afraid of uniting your wisdom—do not be afraid of each other: every one write or speak the sentiments of your heart coolly, deliberately, and respectfully. Do not be afraid of administration, your united wisdom will make them appear as chaff before the wind; and when they are no more, all the good things which they distribute will still be to give. Be assured there are gentlemen of superior rank, fortune, talent and integrity ready to volunteer their services in their places, for less, or no wages, rather than this unhappy land should fall into ruins... Do not be afraid of the people, they will do no harm; if you will shew them you will direct your attention to their welfare, they will join your meetings, and revere, respect and love you; and the voice of the wrong-heads who presume to take a lead among them, will be lost in the better crowd, and be heard of no more.

To restore your own private family would be great joy to you; but to restore the happiness of sixteen millions, the national family, is an act of the first necessity and of the first glory; which would procure you the thanks of every individual in the nation.

The Almighty smileth upon us in all directions, without respect to persons; all the returns required are our worship, praise, prayers, gratitude and thanks. I do hope we frail mortals shall offer a humble imitation of the Omnipotent, and smile upon each other without prejudice, respect to persons, sects or parties, and consider well what our inferiors do for us. Study the holy Scriptures, particularly the golden Rule, the Collect for the second Sunday in Advent, the thirteenth chapter of the first of Corinthians, and say "Comfort ye, comfort ye my people, saith your God; speak ye comfortably to Jerusalem."

From the earliest dawning of my reason I have been the poor man's friend, and consequently a friend to my country; (because the poor and unfortunate are the

great mass of all nations, and little do we know who are to fall into their unhappy situation;) and I hope to wear the same disposition to my grave.

Let us all consider that the longest period of our life is short, compared with eternity; and it is said of man, that "his time is a moment, and a point his space." Then let us not delay, but rejoice and be thankful that we are made superior to the rest of the creation, consider why we are made so, and do as much good as we can, if we cannot do as much good as we wish.

Inspired by these sentiments, though I am drawing towards the close of life, I am thankful to my Maker that I feel more alive to, and more anxious for the good of my country, than when I was beginning my career of life, (though I am at this time one of the most oppressed and unjustly injured of men;) and I do pray that all others may be impressed with the same disposition; then I do think our dear country may and will be saved and restored to the happy days of old.

I beg leave to ask, are there any people in the universe who discharge all the duties of society individually, better than the English? This admitted, I will ask in the name of all that is sacred and good, Why cannot we do the same collectively? I am sure we can if we will; and I do hope those sentiments may produce the will. To our honor be it told, we are great, wise and good individually. I beseech you, let us be so collectively, and guard against the danger which awaits us all. Do not put the best constitution in the world to the hazard—do not let it fall! Did not Carthage fall?—Did not Rome fall?—Did not France fall by those four dire enemies to all nations, luxury, tyranny, oppression, and poverty? Did not France exhibit scenes of horror unexampled? (and I do indeed feel for the thousands upon thousands who will be reduced from competency to poverty by the fall of the funds, if ever this mighty Empire falls) but I trust this wise, good and great nation will for ever guard against such evils, and coolly consult each other which is the best way to safety.

I say again, Do not delay till it be too late. We all know the disease, let us apply a speedy remedy. Reduce rents to the rates they were at before the war and high price of corn raised them. Reduce the interest of money from five to four per cent. or less, and thereby reduce the taxes eight or ten millions a year. Abolish all unmerited sinecure places and pensions. Adopt every possible economy in the public expenditure. Give freedom to trade, and do such other good and virtuous acts as you in your wisdom may think proper; and you will see every Englishman resume his native character, and become like an Englishman again; and once more see the happy days of old, and hand them down to posterity unimpaired.

Where is the use of historians if we will not benefit by history, or the horrors that have happened in our own memory. Have not we had recent warning of our danger, and the wrath to come. Let us be thankful that we are preserved to this period.

Do not draw any hasty conclusion when you have read this, but reflect and inquire; and you will find they are the unbiased, unprejudiced, uninfluenced sentiments of all mankind. Do not suffer the voice of the alarmist to approach you; do not suffer the voice of designing,

interested, wicked, or weak men to reach your ear. Think and act for yourselves, or for the benefit of your united wisdom and the good of your country. Suffer neither luxury, tyranny, oppression, or poverty to remain in this land; drive them out of it, and send them where they belong..

I have the honor to be,  
With the utmost deference and respect,  
My Lords and Gentlemen,  
Your faithful humble Servant,  
RICHARD MILNES.

*The Imperial Parliament of Britain.*

HOUSE OF LORDS.—TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 3, 1824.

Parliament was opened this day by a Royal Commission. The Lords Commissioners being the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Lord Chancellor, the Lord Privy Seal, the President of the Council, and the Earl of Shaftesbury.

Soon afterwards Mr. Speaker, preceded and attended by the officers of his house, and followed by a considerable portion of the members, approached their Lordships' bar; after which the Royal Commission was read for the opening of the session, when the Lord Chancellor, by virtue of the same, delivered the following speech:—

*The King's Speech.*

" My Lords and Gentlemen,

" We are commanded by his Majesty to express to you his Majesty's deep regret, that, in consequence of indisposition, he is prevented from meeting you in Parliament on the present occasion.

" It would have been a peculiar satisfaction to his Majesty to be enabled, in person, to congratulate you on the prosperous condition of the country.

" Trade and commerce are extending themselves both at home and abroad.

" An increasing activity pervades almost every branch of manufacture.

" The growth of the Revenue is such as not only to sustain public credit, and to prove the unimpaired productiveness of our resources, but (what is yet more gratifying to his Majesty's feelings) to evince a diffusion of comfort among the great body of the people.

" Agriculture is increasing from the depression under which it laboured, and by the steady operation of natural causes, is gradually re-assuming the station to which its importance entitles it, among the great interests of the nation.

" At no former period has there prevailed throughout all classes of the community in this island, a more cheerful spirit of order, or a more just sense of the advantages which, under the blessing of Providence, they enjoy.

" In Ireland, which has for some time past been the subject of his Majesty's particular solicitude, there are many indications of amendment, and his Majesty relies upon our continued endeavours to secure the welfare and happiness of that part of the United Kingdom.

" His Majesty has commanded us further to inform you, that he has every reason to believe, that the progress of our internal prosperity and improvement will not be disturbed by any interruption of tranquillity abroad.

" His Majesty continues to receive from the Powers his Allies and generally from all Princes and States, assurances of their earnest desire to maintain and cultivate the relations of friendship with his Majesty, and nothing is omitted on his Majesty's part, as well to preserve general peace as to remove any causes of disagreement, and to draw closer the bonds of amity between other Nations and Great-Britain.

" The negotiations which have been so long carried on through his Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople, for the arrangement of differences between Russia and the Ottoman Porte are, as his Majesty flatters himself, drawing near to a favorable determination.

" A convention has been concluded between his Majesty and the Emperor of Austria, for the settlement of the pecuniary claims of the country, upon the Court of Vienna.

" His Majesty has directed that a copy of this convention shall be laid before you, and he relies on your assistance for the execution of some of its provisions.

" Anxiously as his Majesty deprecated the commencement of the war in Spain, he is every day more satisfied that in the strict neutrality which he determined to observe in that contest, and which you so cordially approved, he best consulted the true interests of his people.

" With respect to the provinces of America which have declared their separation from Spain, his Majesty's conduct has been open and consistent, and his opinions have been at all times frankly avowed to Spain and to other powers.

" His Majesty has appointed Consuls to reside at the principal ports and places of those provinces, for the protection of the trade of his subjects.

" As to any further measures his Majesty has reserved to himself an unfettered discretion to be exercised as the circumstances of those countries, and the interests of his own people may appear to his Majesty to require.

*" Gentlemen of the House of Commons.*

" His Majesty has directed us to inform you that the estimates for the year are prepared, and shall be forthwith laid before you.

" The numerous points at which, under present circumstances, his Majesty's naval force is necessarily distributed, and the occasions which have arisen for strengthening his garrisons in the West Indies, have rendered unavoidable some augmentation of the establishments by sea and land.

" His Majesty has, however, the gratification of believing that, notwithstanding the increase of expense incident to these augmentations, it will still be in your power, after providing for the services of the year, to make arrangements in some parts of our system of taxation, which may afford relief to certain important branches of the national industry.

*" My Lords and Gentlemen,*

" His Majesty has commanded us to acquaint you, that he has not been inattentive to the desire expressed by the

House of Commons in the last session of Parliament, that means should be devised for ameliorating the condition of the negro slaves in the West Indies.

" His Majesty has directed the necessary information relating to this subject to be laid before you.

" His Majesty is confident that you will afford your best attention and assistance to any proposition which may be submitted to you, for promoting the moral improvement of the negroes, by an extended plan of religious instruction, and by such other measures as may gradually conduce to the same end.

" But his Majesty earnestly recommends to you to treat the whole subject with the calmness and discretion which it demands.

" To excite exaggerated expectation in those who are the objects of their benevolence, would be as fatal to their welfare as to that of their employers.

" And his Majesty assures himself you will bear in mind that where the correction of a long standing and complicated system, and the safety of large classes of his Majesty's subjects are involved, that course of proceeding is alone likely to attain practical good, and to avoid aggravation of evil, in which regard shall be paid to considerations of justice, and in which caution shall temper zeal."

*Earl Somers* moved the address, which was seconded by *Viscount Lortan*.

### United States.

The First Session of the Eighteenth Congress of the United States commenced on the 1st of December. On the following day the Message of the President, Mr. Monroe, was presented. It is an interesting and important document, and particularly so at this moment, from the sentiments which it discloses on the threatened attack of the South American Republics from Europe. The Message begins as follows:—

" *Fellow Citizens of the Senate and House of Representatives.*—Many important subjects will claim your attention during the present Session, of which I shall endeavour to give, in aid of your deliberations, a just idea in this communication. I undertake this duty with diffidence, from the vast extent of the interests on which I have to treat, and of their great importance to every portion of our Union. I enter on it with zeal, from a thorough conviction that there never was a period, since the establishment of our revolution, when, regarding the condition of the civilized world, and its bearing on us, there was a greater necessity for devotion in the public servants to their respective duties, or for virtue, patriotism, and union in our constituents.

" Meeting in you a new Congress, I deem it proper to present this view of public affairs in greater detail than might otherwise be necessary. I do it, however, with peculiar satisfaction, from a knowledge that in this respect I shall comply more fully with the sound principles of our government. The people being with us exclusively the sovereign, it is indispensable that full information be laid before them on all important subjects, to enable them to exercise that high power, with

complete effect. If kept in the dark they must be incompetent to it. We are all liable to error, and those who are engaged in the management of public affairs, are more subject to excitement, and to be led astray by their particular interests and passions, than the great body of our constituents, who, living at home, in the pursuit of their ordinary avocations, are calm but deeply interested spectators of events, and of the conduct of those who are parties to them. To the people, every department of the Government, and every individual in each, are responsible; and the more full their information, the better they can judge of the wisdom of the policy pursued, and of the conduct of each in regard to it. From their dispassionate judgment, much aid may always be obtained; while their approbation will form the greatest incentive, and most gratifying reward for virtuous actions; and the dread of their censure the best security against the abuse of their confidence. Their interests, in all vital questions, are the same; and the bond by sentiment, as well as by interest, will be proportionably strengthened as they are better informed of the real state of public affairs, especially in difficult conjunctures. It is by such knowledge that local prejudices and jealousies are surmounted, and that a national policy, extending its fostering care and protection to all the great interests of our Union, is formed and steadily adhered to."

After this admirable introduction, the Message proceeds to give the following information on the present relations of the United States with Foreign Powers:—

" The commissioners under the fifth article of the treaty of Ghent, having disagreed in their opinions respecting that portion of the boundary between the territories of the United States and of Great-Britain, the establishment of which had been submitted to them, have made their respective reports, in compliance with that article, that the same might be referred to the decision of a friendly power. It being manifest, however, that it would be difficult, if not impossible, for any power to perform that office, without great delay and much inconvenience to itself, a proposal has been made by this government and acceded to by that of Great-Britain, to endeavour to establish that boundary by amicable negotiation. It appearing, from long experience, that no satisfactory arrangement could be formed of the commercial intercourse between the United States and the British colonies in this hemisphere, by legislative acts, while each party pursued its own course, without agreement or concert with the other, a proposal has been made to the British government to regulate this commerce by treaty, as it has been to arrange, in like manner, the just claims of the citizens of the United States inhabiting the states and territories bordering on the lakes and rivers which empty into the St. Lawrence, to the navigation of that river to the ocean. For these and other objects of high importance to the interest of both parties, a negotiation has been opened with the British government, which, it is hoped, will have a satisfactory result."

The negotiations with the French government on the subject of the "unjustifiable confiscations" of American property during the late war, are said not to have yet arrived at a satisfactory termination.

A negotiation has been opened with Russia, upon the question of that Power's claim to the North West Coast of the American Continent. The President professes to have been particularly desirous of cultivating the Russian emperor's good will. A similar negotiation has been opened with Great-Britain.

"The actual condition of the public finances more than realize the favourable anticipation that were entertained of it at the opening of the last Session of Congress. On the 1st of January there was a balance in the treasury of 4,237,427 dollars and 55 cents. From that time to the 30th of September, the receipts amounted to upwards of 16,000,000 dollars, and the expenditure to 11,400,000 dollars. During the fourth quarter of the year, it is estimated that the receipts will, at least, equal the expenditures, and that there will remain in the treasury, on the 1st day of January next, a surplus of nearly nine millions of dollars."

The militia is said not to be completed up to its legal establishment, difficulties in distributing arms have arisen from the neglect of the different States to furnish the necessary returns.

"The report of the Secretary of the Navy, which is now communicated, furnishes an account of the administration of that department, for the three first quarters of the present year, with the progress made in augmenting the navy, and the manner in which the vessels in commission have been employed."

"The usual force has been maintained in the Mediterranean Sea, the Pacific Ocean, and along the Atlantic Coast, and has afforded the necessary protection to our commerce in those seas."

"In the West Indies and the Gulf of Mexico our naval force has been augmented, by the addition of several small vessels, provided for by the "act authorizing an additional naval force, for the suppression of piracy," passed by Congress at their last session. That armament has been eminently successful in the accomplishment of its object. The piracies by which our commerce in the neighbourhood of the island of Cuba had been afflicted, have been repressed, and the confidence of our merchants, in a great measure, restored.

"The patriotic zeal and enterprise of Commodore Porter, to whom the command of the expedition was confided, has been fully seconded by the officers and men under his command.—And, in reflecting with high satisfaction on the honourable manner in which they sustained the reputation of their country and its navy, the sentiment is alloyed only by a concern that, in the fulfilment of that arduous service, the diseases incident to the season and to the climate in which it was discharged, have deprived the nation of many useful lives, and among them of several officers of great promise."

"Although our expedition, co-operating with an invigorated administration of the government of the Island of Cuba, and with the corresponding active exertions of a British naval force in the same seas, have almost entirely destroyed the unlicensed piracies from that island, the success of our exertions has not been equally effectual to suppress the same crime, under other pretences and colour in the neighbouring island of Porto Rico. They have been committed there under the abusive issue of Spanish commissions. At an earlier

period of the present year, remonstrances were made to the Governor of that Island, by an agent who was sent there for the purpose, against those outrages on the peaceful commerce of the United States, of which many had occurred. That officer professing his own want of authority to make satisfaction for our just complaints, answered only by a reference of them to the Government of Spain. The Minister of the United States to that Court was especially instructed to urge the necessity of the immediate and effectual interposition of that Government, directing restitution and indemnity for wrongs already committed, and interdicting the repetition of them. The Minister, as has been seen, was debarred access to the Spanish Government, and, in the mean time, several new cases of flagrant outrage have occurred, and Citizens of the United States in the Island of Porto Rico have suffered, and others have been threatened with assassination, for asserting their unquestionable rights, even before the lawful tribunals of the country.

"The usual orders have been given to all our public ships to seize American vessels engaged in the Slave Trade, and bring them in for adjudication, and I have the gratification to state, that not one so employed has been discovered, and there is good reason to believe that our flag is now seldom, if at all, disgraced by that traffic.

"It is a source of great satisfaction that we are always enabled to recur to the conduct of our navy with pride and commendation. As a means of national defence, it enjoys the public confidence, and is steadily assuming additional importance. It is submitted whether a more efficient and equally economical organization of it might not in several respects be effected. It is supposed, that higher grades, than now exist by law, would be useful. They would afford well merited rewards to those who have long and faithfully served their country; present the best incentives of good conduct, and the best means of ensuring a proper discipline; destroy the inequality in that respect between the military and naval service, and relieve our officers from many inconveniences and mortifications which occur when our vessels meet those of any other nation—our's being the only service in which such grades do not exist."

A report of the Postmaster-General is referred to, which proves the Post-office department to be considerably in arrear. New checks upon the department are proposed.

"Having communicated my views to Congress, at the commencement of the last session, respecting the encouragement which ought to be given to our manufactures, and the principle on which it should be founded. I have only to add, that those views remain unchanged, and that the present state of those countries with which we have the most immediate political relations, and greatest commercial intercourse tends to confirm them. Under this impression, I recommend a review of the tariff, for the purpose of affording such additional protection to those articles which we are prepared to manufacture, or which are more immediately connected with the defence and independence of the country.

"The actual state of the public accounts, furnishes additional evidence of the efficiency of the present sys-

"with the governments who have declared their independence and maintained it, and whose independence we have, on great consideration, and on just principles, acknowledged, we could not view any interposition, for the purpose of oppressing them, or controlling in any other manner their destiny, by any European Power, in any other light than as the manifestation of an unfriendly disposition towards the United States." This passage is equivalent to a declaration, that any attempt to re-conquer Mexico, Colombia, Buenos Ayres, or Chili, all of which Republics the United States have acknowledged as independent, will be regarded as an act of hostility towards the latter power. And the following sentence, especially when combined with the one before quoted relative to the Russian claims, includes also Peru and every other part of South America; "It is impossible that the Allied Powers should extend their political system to any portion of either continent, without endangering our peace and happiness; nor can any one believe that our southern brethren, if left to themselves, would adopt it of their own accord. It is equally impossible, that we should behold such interposition, in any form, with indifference. If we look to the comparative strength and resources of Spain, and those new governments, and their distance from each other, it must be obvious that she can never subdue them." This last sentence appears to be intended to meet the case, of an armament being sent by France or the Allies from a Spanish port,—a trick which will not impose on the Americans, as they declare that they know Spain to be incapable of sending an expedition herself. This, then, is a noble and most gratifying act on the part of the United States. How different from the language of the Duke of Wellington, on the affairs of Spain, at Verona! We blush to think how much the English government is degraded by the comparison. If Mr. Canning, however, is now disposed to adopt a manly policy, he will find in the United States a firm ally; and what could be wished for more? England and America may stand together against the world. The Holy Alliance is as powerless on the ocean, as it is irresistible on the Continent. We know not but that our cabinet may already have come to the same resolution as the United States, and that the latter may have been acquainted with that resolution before the President's Message was composed. Should this be the case, we shall rejoice; for this country can pursue no other course with either honor or safety, than that which America is pursuing. England has at least as great an interest in the independence of the late Spanish colonies as the United States, and we should be sorry to think that she had not the same spirit to maintain it.

We have at length the pleasure to announce that Porto Cabello, the last town held by the Spaniards in Colombia, has been captured by the Independents. Thus terminates the long and bloody contest carried on in this extensive and important territory for freedom. In this contest, Spain has manifested the same obstinacy that she displayed in opposing the independence of Holland,—an obstinacy resembling that of those ferocious animals, which, having once fastened their teeth on an enemy will never lose their hold, though they should

be hacked in pieces. Spain has seen her armies wasting away, and has supplied them with reinforcements till her means were exhausted; unmoved by reverses, she never thought of abandoning the hopeless conflict, and rescuing her devoted forces, but left them to perish to the last man on the scene of her former oppressive dominion. A pile of Spanish bones should be erected on the shores of Venezuela, as a monument to the world of retributive justice—as a proof that the judgments of Providence, though late, are certain, since Spain has seen the crimes of Pizarro visited on the followers of Morales.

*Leeds Mercury, Dec. 1823.*

### *The Marquis of Lansdown's Address.*

The Marquis of Lansdown began by expressing his concurrence in that part of his Majesty's Speech, which alluded to the Agriculture of the country. It gave him great satisfaction to observe, while he admitted the improvement which had taken place, that it was acknowledged, in the words of the Speech from the Throne, to have taken place from natural causes [hear, hear, hear!]. Feeling, as he did, the great weight of debt which pressed upon this country, but never despaired of the extent of her resources, it was particularly gratifying to his mind to hear this acknowledgment of natural causes at last superseding the false maxims so long and so violently maintained. The admission, that the present success of our agriculture proceeded from the remission of taxation, and the increased freedom of trade, was one that augured favorably for the future. That the increased freedom of trade had a considerable influence on the renovation of agriculture was not only true in the present instance, but would be found in all cases to have operated in the same way, even to a greater extent than the advocates of free trade themselves expected. The restrictions upon the trade between Great Britain and Ireland were founded, like the rest, upon long continued prejudices. A Noble Lord on the other side of the House who had filled the situation of Secretary for Ireland, was found at that period among the opponents of free trade, though perhaps not himself violently prejudiced against the measure. But what was the fact now? It was well known that there were petitions before the Treasury in which the removal of those restrictions was urged by the very parties who thought that they were sheltered by them before, and that Parliament was to be solicited, after the short experiment of the few years that had passed since the other experiment was tried, to relieve them of the burthen which they once preferred to the great principle. Any one who took the trouble to inquire would find, that whenever a tax was repealed, it was not only productive of relief to the parties for whose immediate benefit it was intended, but, by indirectly increasing consumption and demand, became a general advantage to the community. He had alluded to these causes, because he felt it was not uninteresting to regard them with attention, both as they respected our present and future policy. Even including the effect which the failure of the harvest, both in Scotland and in Ireland, must have had

upon the prices of this country, it was evident that our agriculture was much improved, for there was an increased consumption which would be followed by an increased produce of course. Having expressed his concurrence in that part of his Majesty's Speech, he felt it impossible not to notice what was more partially alluded to in the Speech, but what appeared to him entitled to an explicit commentary. He meant the situation of this country as connected with foreign Powers, and particularly with the Continent of Europe. It was much to be wished that this topic had been more fully dwelt upon in the Speech. It would have become his Majesty's Ministers, as the Ministers of a free country, especially after having deprecated the commencement of the war in Spain, to have expressed their opinion on its most unfortunate termination. He described it as unfortunate, not merely with respect to the particular institutions of Spain, but to the general rights of nations. According to those rights, it was manifest that every country might alter its own institutions without consulting any other country, which could have no right to interfere with its proceedings in that respect. When, therefore, they recollect, that during the last summer a hostile army had entered Spain, professedly to alter its Constitution, he should have thought it impossible for Ministers to observe that courtly silence after the success of such an army, from which it could not be inferred whether they were gratified or displeased at the result. He thought it would have been right to put into the mouth of the King of a free people, such sentiments of right and condemnation as the occurrence ought to have inspired. It was an attack upon the independence of nations—a violation of that privilege of improvement which Spain had a right to exercise, proceeding by slow degrees, as all excellence is attained, instead of being plunged into the horrors under which that country was now suffering. The Noble Mover had expressed himself unfriendly to all Ultraism, but he would ask, was not Spain at present in a state of the most disgraceful Ultraism, compelled as she had been by military power to surrender her own prospects of improvement, no matter how imperfectly developed in their infancy? The consequences arising from this principle were still to be apprehended; for when the law of nations was departed from, and a great act of injustice was done, an alteration might be said to take place in the relations of States, and Ministers would judge unwisely if they flattered themselves that things would rest there [hear, hear!]. It was the nature of such infringements to produce repeated violations of what was usually called the balance of power, but what he would rather call the independence of nations. Let them not flatter themselves, therefore, that the present state of things did not call for their utmost attention and vigilance. He would ask them to look at what that state was, as exemplified by the occurrences of the last six years, after they had been told that the relations of all the States of Europe, and the happiness of the people of every State, had been placed on the most solid foundations. Since these declarations were made, and while they were still sounding in our ears, the whole Continent of Europe was governed by three or four great military powers, who exercised a restless, vexatious, and tyrannical influence over the weaker States [hear, hear!]. Could

he be contradicted in stating, that, under the present order of things, no country was possessed of independence upon any other ground than force, the force which enabled it to resist injury and oppression? With this exception might it not be said, that a state was liable any time to be called upon to renounce its rights, laws, and usages at the will of the great despotic Powers, subject to the control of no tribunal, but following their own caprice and policy, however arbitrary or mistaken? He was sure he should not be called upon to mention instances, nor did the Speech from the Throne invite them to make any admission to the contrary. But when neither the Monarchical character of the Governments of Wurtenburg and Bavaria, nor the acknowledged services rendered by the ancient Republic of Switzerland to mankind, could exempt them from act of interference, it was in vain to talk of security, and affectation to talk of respect for a principle which nothing but force could secure against their hostility. When there was no difference made between those weaker Governments and the Government of this country, except that which was drawn by their respective capacities to repeal aggression, could he be contradicted in asserting that there was no law in Europe but that of the strongest? The policy of this country had ever been to protect the weak against the strong—bottoming its authority on the law of nations; and those who still maintained a regard for that ancient principle, could not fail to look with an eye of apprehension and disgust on the condition of Europe at the present moment. If the state of Europe was really such as he had described it—if all chance of future improvement was to be frittered away or chained down by the ordinances of these few despotic Powers, and no step could be taken towards ameliorating the condition of mankind, except by the connivance of that corporation of Sovereigns, how consoling must it be to those who wished well to the cause of Liberty, to see the principles of Free Trade and Constitutional Independence assisted in one quarter of the world at least, and so far secured against the poison of false maxims. It was not only for the general interests of the world, but for the peculiar interest of England, to be united on the closest terms with that country, where the principles of free trade and free government were best understood. He was, therefore, glad to see, that his Majesty's Ministers had taken what might be considered the first step towards conciliating those Powers, upon whom the future benefit of the world appeared to depend, by the appointment of Consuls within their territories. He thought they ought to have gone further, but was glad they had gone even so far. He also rejoiced to find, that the United States of America had taken that part in the same question which became both its character and its interests. It had not concealed its opinion—it had spoken out boldly and timely, and in throwing its shield over them at the earliest period, by recognizing their independence, had set an example to nations of which this country ought to have been more prompt to avail itself. They were bound to do this, when they considered the narrow-minded system of commerce which had been for some time pursued on the Continent—a system which had for its object the almost total exclusion of the manufactures and other exportable produce of this

country. Let their Lordships look, on the other hand, to the immense magnitude of this question, as it affected, and was likely to affect, our commercial intercourse with the other side of the Atlantic. A great proportion of South America was at this moment free; it was accessible to our commerce, and was capable by industry to have its number of consumers increased, upon the same principle that a part of North America increased from three millions to ten millions of consumers. At present the population of South America amounted to 16 millions (independent of four millions in the Brazils), which population, according to the same ratio, might, in the course of the next forty years, be increased to from 50 to 60 millions of consumers; and, let it be observed, that the South Americans were great consumers of articles of European, and particularly of British manufacture; according to a recent calculation, each individual upon an average consumed European articles to the amount of from 8 to 10 piasters, being about £1. annually. He called upon their Lordships to consider for a moment the serious advantage of securing a trade so important to the welfare of this country? But when he made this statement; when he so called upon their Lordships, did he mean to say that they ought to do an act of injustice, or that they ought to deviate in any way from that open and straight forward course, which it was for the honor, as well as for the interests of this kingdom always to follow? Quite the contrary; but he had yet to learn, that when our honor and our interests equally indicated the course which was to be followed—when, in order to attain what was most desirable, we had only to do that which was an incontrovertible principle in this kingdom—namely, to recognize the independence of a country which had a manifest right to govern itself—a right claimed in this instance, as well from habit as from the total incapacity of the parent country to govern it; with these facts before him, he had yet to learn why we should be deterred from forming a connection at once honorable to our character, and beneficial to our best interests. They were bound also to recognize the independence of South America, as by doing so they gave a greater extension to public liberty, and of course to the peace and tranquillity of Europe. Upon this ground, he could not help wishing that his Majesty's Ministers had been a little more explicit with the other European Powers upon this point. Had they been more free and open in the speech delivered from his Majesty to-day, he had not a doubt that they would have met with the concurrence and support of every independent man in the country [hear, hear!]. There were other points of a minor nature introduced, which it was not his intention to enter into at any length, as other, and, perhaps, more proper opportunities would occur of discussing them; but there were some which he found it impossible to pass over in silence. One of these had been spoken of at much length by the Noble Lord, who moved the Address—he meant the state of our West India Colonies. He agreed with the Noble Lord, in thinking that this subject ought to be treated with the utmost caution; and that a great deal ought to be done, while as little as possible was said upon it;—never losing sight of the main point—the amelioration

of the condition of the Slave population in those Colonies. The Noble Lord [Lerton] had stated much, with respect to Ireland, and he agreed with his Lordship in thinking that much had been done to remedy the distresses which existed in that country; he felt, however, that the evil lay deeper, and he wished Government would hold out some efficient remedy for it. The new tithe system and the police act hath certainly produced much alteration; in short, a great opening had been made, and he trusted it was only an approximation to that which was so much desired. He trusted the affairs of Ireland would be brought particularly under their consideration, and, if so, doubtless the advocacy of its interests would fall into much abler hands than his. His Lordship said, in conclusion, that he had little or nothing more to add; it was not his intention to propose any Amendment, but he could not sit down without again expressing a wish that his Majesty's Ministers had been more open and decided in their tone upon the points to which he had already alluded, and particularly with respect to South America. However, one step had been taken in the appointment of Consuls, and he trusted it was only a prelude to measures which would at once remove all doubt with respect to the light in which he wished to view these Colonies, [hear, hear!].

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*Abstract from Lord Liverpool's Speech,  
on the Address.*

It was not his intention to go into a detail of the other parts of the Noble Marquis's speech, as many other and more convenient periods would present themselves for their discussion. One observation, however, of the Noble Marquis he could not pass over—namely, his expression of regret “that his Majesty's Ministers had not been more explicit upon certain points connected with our foreign policy.” After what took place last session, and after those repeated declarations then made by him, (Lord Liverpool), it was not, he hoped, necessary that he should now trouble their Lordships with a repetition of his opinions. And it was the less so, because their Lordships would do him the justice to recollect, that every observation of his last Session had been more than fully proved by the events which had since occurred [hear, hear!]. He had never hesitated to say openly, that France ought not to have invaded Spain; he deprecated all interference of France with Spain; not on the principle that one country has no right to interfere with the internal regulations of another, because he thought that such a rule was liable to very many exceptions, but because he felt (in this instance) France had no shadow of right to interfere with the internal regulations of Spain [hear!]. He had been always of opinion that Spain ought to be left to herself, and that, however she might be divided by domestic factions, those factions should be allowed to deal with each other; but, when the question did arise, when the invasion of Spain was threatened, his Majesty's Ministers felt it their duty to advise that Spain should make a concession, not to France, but to Spain herself in order to avert the calamities with which she was threatened; they did this because they felt

that by a compromise which could not injure the honor of Spain; but, on the contrary, would be likely to secure her a better government, she would avoid the evils by which she was threatened. Upon this ground it was that his Majesty's Ministers interfered, not by menace, but by advice; and he would ask even the most zealous supporters of the Constitutionalists of Spain, whether they did not at this moment regret that the party did not at once act upon that advice [hear!]? The advice was, however, rejected, and what followed? The French army invaded Spain, and he called upon their Lordships to recall to their recollection what the reception of that army had been. Suppose we had been pressed into that war, suppose we had at once engaged in support of the Constitutional Spaniards, what must our feelings have been, when we perceived the manner in which the great mass, the immense majority of the Spanish people treated the Constitution? What must be our feelings when we found them from town to town hailing the French as their deliverers, and uttering every denunciation against the Constitution and its supporters? From what did this feeling arise? Was it from a love of freedom, or from a love of that of which the Constitution went to deprive them? Was there, he would ask, a country in the world more jealous than Spain was of any Foreign interference? Was there any nation more pledged, more devoted to its ancient habits and practices? He would now say what he had said in the course of last April, that, however Spaniards might hate a foreign enemy—however they might oppose themselves to the interference even of a foreign friend, there was nothing which they hated more than this Constitution of which so much had been said [hear, hear!]. Would the Noble Marquis, then have the Government of this country interfere, for the purpose of forcing upon an immense majority of the Spanish nation a system of Government which they detested? Would he have Ministers plunge the nation in war, for the purpose of supporting that which turned out to be only a very small proportion of the Spanish people? The Noble Lord (Somers) had said, and he fully agreed with him in the assertion, that Ultraism of whatever party was to be reprobated. But where was the Ultraism in this case? The Ultraism of Spain was the Ultraism of the people; they it was who decided with an ultra feeling, if their Lordships pleased, against that Constitution which the Noble Marquis would have Ministers force upon them. Let them look, as he had already said, to the reception of the French in Spain—let them look to the manner in which the illustrious Prince who commanded that army was received: [hear, hear!]. And here he felt it due to that royal personage (the Duke d'Angouleme) to state, that while he, (Lord Liverpool) deprecated all interference with Spain by France, he felt bound to declare, that the conduct of his Royal Highness, whilst at the head of the invading army, was both noble and generous, and gave a fair promise of what might be expected from him when he succeeded to that Throne to which he was at present the presumptive heir [cries of hear, hear! in a peculiar manner from Lord Holland, which were echoed by several Peers in different parts of the House]. His Royal Highness had, both in France and in Spain,

endeavoured to check the spirit of Ultraism, and had in many instances succeeded. "For myself (said the Noble Lord), I could no more think of employing British bayonets to thrust down the throats of the Spanish people a Constitution which they detested, than I could employ them for the purpose of involving them in the most abject slavery," [hear, hear!]. He next came to a question, touched upon by the Noble Marquis, and certainly one of the very greatest importance—he meant our intercourse with South America. The Noble Marquis had not found fault with what had been done, but only regretted that Ministers had not done enough; and expressed a wish that they had gone further. For himself, he felt not the slightest fear in meeting the question as he had formerly met it, that was to say, in the most open and candid manner. He called upon their Lordships to look to the first Spanish Revolution, last war, and they would find that a strong discussion had taken place, as to whether the British Government ought to take part with the Court of Spain on the one hand, or devote its energies to the support of the independence of South America, on the other. Some preferred the former policy; but the British Government thought differently, and they found that the wisest policy was to let Spain act upon its own resources, always offering our advice to them as to the course which it was most advisable to pursue. Their Lordships would remember what had taken place before the full appointment of his Noble and Gallant Friend (the Duke of Wellington) to the chief command in Spain; they would also bear in mind the glorious results achieved by his talents and persevering exertions [hear, hear!]. When the war in Spain was at length concluded, and the King set at liberty, the question with respect to the Colonies was agitated, and the mediation of this country was requested, not with a view to the restoration of the Colonies to Spain, for that was out of the question, but with a view to the amicable adjustment of the then existing differences. Spain rejected our offers from time to time; in a word, she rejected them until she found herself stripped of almost her last South American province! Under these circumstances, the Noble Marquis (Lansdowne), had stated, "that the first step had been taken by appointing Consuls to South America, and that he hoped this course of policy would be followed up." He had only to answer to this, that if any impression was entertained that he were in any way fettered or bound to Spain, the persons entertaining it were totally mistaken. One object of the Address was to remove every such impression if it existed. We were under no obligation to Spain, or to any other Power, on the subject. There was nothing to prevent us from pursuing our own course with respect to South America. Our hands were perfectly free. We were wholly un fettered. We were at liberty to do whatever the interests of Great-Britain and the circumstances in which the world was placed, might determine us to do. At the same time he by no means denied that it would be materially advantageous if Spain could be induced herself to acknowledge the permanent independency of her colonies. Until that were done, however independent they might be *de facto*, there would always exist a number of ambiguities, and a number of practi-

cal difficulties in the intercourse with those colonies. He therefore perfectly agreed with the Noble Marquis that if the independence of the Spanish colonies were recognized by Spain herself, such a recognition would be infinitely advantageous. All that he (Lord Liverpool) maintained was, that this country was not bound, either by the recognition or the abstinence from recognition of the Spanish Government, to act in any other manner than that which might appear to be conducive to its own interests, or rather to the general interests of Europe. He had made this distinct statement because it certainly was highly desirable that Parliament, and the country at large, should know precisely how this question stood; that they should know that his Majesty's Government were perfectly free and unfettered with respect to it.

### *Lord Holland's Speech.*

Lord Holland spoke to the following effect:—I am afraid, my Lords, I shall disappoint the hope expressed by the Noble Mover and Seconder of the Address, that it would pass with the unanimous concurrence of your Lordships. For, although I do not feel myself called upon to press upon your Lordships the adoption of any other Address than that before us—although there are many topics in that Address in which I cheerfully concur and acquiesce—and although I readily acknowledge that, as it struck my ear, it contained no strong expressions to which I entertain any insuperable objection—yet, before I sit down, I shall feel myself bound to state why I do not think the general tone and temper of that Address at all such as should receive your Lordships' approbation in the present awful and critical situation of this country, and in the present extraordinary state of Europe. Before, however, I proceed to that part of the question, I am desirous of saying in what parts of the proposed Address I concur. In the first topic of the Address I have the satisfaction to say that I completely concur. I most readily, and indeed most happily acknowledge that the internal prosperity of the country is greater, and that the country is in that point of view more flourishing than it has been within my recollection at any former period of the opening of a Session of Parliament. Nay, my Lords, I am ready to go a step further. I am ready to acknowledge that that prosperity is, in some degree, owing to the wisdom and firmness with which this and the other House of Parliament, as has already been so ably stated by my Noble Relation, proceeded to carry into effect the resumption of cash payments; and I owe it more to candour to make this statement, because I was, certainly, somewhat appalled by the contemplation of that proceeding; and, in private at least, expressed my hesitation with respect to the probability of its successful issue. But at the same time, my Lords, I am by no means prepared to say, with the Noble Lord, that it is fair to give to his Majesty's Ministers some degree of credit for the present prosperity of the country. Recollecting the conduct and language of the Noble Earl opposite, during the time that the country was in

distress, I cannot allow that it is fair to give Government any credit for its present condition. We all recollect, my Lords, that when the country was sunk in that deep distress which was the result of the dreadful war which she had so long waged, and of the barbarous system to which she had had recourse for the purpose of maintaining it, the Noble Earl opposite, on being questioned with respect to the cause of the existing evil, attributed it without difficulty to Providence. At one time he told us that Providence had made the people of this country much too amorous, and that the population was in consequence excessive; at another time he said that Providence was too bounteous, and that the produce of the soil was much too plentiful. Now, however, it appears that, although I believe the eloquence of the Noble Earl, however powerful, has not been able to root the passion of love out of the breasts of our young men, or his devotion, however sincere, to put a stop to the rains from Heaven, we are in a state of great prosperity. That being the case, it does not seem to me to be fair for the Noble Earl to say “See! this is my work.” It does not seem to me to be fair that, when we are in distress, Providence and nature are to be charged with being the cause of that distress; but that, when we are in prosperity, we are to be called upon to admire the prodigious wisdom of his Majesty's councils, as having created that prosperity [hear, hear, hear!]. In the fact, however, of the existing prosperity, I cordially concur; and it is due to me in candour to mention another part of the Address, to which I agree. I allude to the passage founded on that part of the Speech from the Throne which speaks of an arrangement with Austria, by which we are to be paid a part of the sum due to us from that country—Lord Liverpool, across the table—“A small part.”]. The Noble Earl says a small part. Well, we must be content. We must not look a gift horse in the mouth; although really this payment is any thing but a gift; and if we were to look into its mouth, we should certainly see the marks of age; nor does it require much political jockeyship to discover that a great deal of work has been taken out of it in the shape of interest [a laugh]. But however that may be, I am bound to acknowledge that the Noble Secretary of State, and that the Noble Duke by whom the arrangement was effected, are entitled to praise for their conduct. This is my opinion, even if we get only what will pay Lord Stewart's embassy to Vienna, although I should be glad to hear that we get more. My Lords, I am willing to give to all who have participated in this transaction their fair share of praise. I have already said that I am ready to acknowledge the merits of the Noble Earl and the Noble Duke with respect to it. However unaccustomed to bestow praise in that quarter, I am even ready to praise the Emperor of Austria for an act which was certainly of a personal nature,—an act performed not only without the approbation, but against the consent of his Ministers. Nor, my Lords, can I refrain from believing that we, who sit on this side of your Lordship's house, are entitled to some little share of praise for this operation. I hope the Noble Lord who presides over his Majesty's Councils will not again talk of improprieties in debate; I hope he will hence-

forward acknowledge that a little plain language uttered in Parliament may sometimes be productive of the most beneficial effects. I am sure, indeed, that the Noble Lord will do this; because there is not one of your Lordships who, after he has passed out of the door of this House, will not declare his conviction, that the language held on this side of the House on the subject of the Austrian loan, has been mainly instrumental to the arrangement that has been made. I now, my Lords, come to a part of the Address on which I feel considerable difficulty; completely agreeing as I do with my Noble Friend near me, that it is a subject on which it is much wiser to act than to speak. If I were called upon to distribute the blame of having brought matters to the state in which they now are in the West-Indies, I believe that the apportionment would be very general. I am sorry to say that I should feel compelled to blame his Majesty's Ministers; that I should feel compelled to blame the body to which I belong, namely the West India Planters; that I should feel compelled to blame the African Association; that I should even be compelled to blame the House of Commons; all parties seem to me to have been to blame. It is a subject, my Lords, on which, for various and obvious reasons, I am not disposed to dwell. I would not have touched upon it at all, had it not occupied so large a portion of his Majesty's Speech. Abstractedly, I have not only no objection to the sentiments which the speech contains upon this topic, but they are such as meet with my sincere and hearty concurrence. Perhaps, however, it may be a question of prudence and policy, whether or not it was advisable to contrast operating motives so strongly as they are there contrasted; and to call upon Parliament in the way in which Parliament is there called upon. I can understand that it may be prudent and expedient, on certain occasions, for this and the other House of Parliament to advise his Majesty on proceedings which require the active interference of the Executive Government; but I do not exactly understand on what principle it is that his Majesty, in his Speech from the Throne, comes to the Parliament of the United Kingdom to originate these proposed measures with respect to the West Indies. If all that is meant is to require the concurrence of Parliament in the augmentation of troops in the colonies, I wish that his Majesty's Government had considered the fever—I readily admit the improper fever which prevails there, and had been more cautious in the language used on the occasion. As to the measure of augmentation itself, it is a step that appears to me to be indispensably necessary, and in which therefore I shall most cordially concur. Opposed as I usually am to any increase in our military establishments, it is especially due from me on the present occasion to say, that in the present state of our colonies in the West Indies, it appears to me to be both wise and necessary to augment the military force of the country. The first day of the session is not the time to enter into any details on the subject, but I cannot refrain from strongly recommending, in the event of any insurrection or attack in the Island with which I am the most connected, that the system pursued during the Maroon war, by that excellent officer, Major-Gen. Walpole, both with respect to the health

and the distribution of the troops, should be immediately adopted. I am happy to bear this testimony to an able and zealous officer; not because I have the honor of being his private friend, but because he is an eminent public man, highly distinguished in the discharge of his public duty; most meritorious, and most unrequited! I trust and hope, that if unfortunately the British troops should again be called into operation in the island of Jamaica, they may be conducted with as much bravery, skill, enterprise, and humanity, as they were on the occasion to which I have alluded. I now, my Lords, come to that part of the Address on which it is necessary for me to make a few remarks, in order to explain the reasons which justify me in withholding my assent to it. Of the whole tone and temper of that part of the Speech, I disapproved when I heard it, and what has since fallen from the Noble Mover of the address has only tended to confirm that disapprobation. I do think, my Lords, that the state of difficulty in which this country is placed with respect to the rest of Europe, is any thing but a subject of joy and satisfaction. I am not prepared to say that that state is big with the most evil consequences; but I am prepared to say, that it is a new and awful state: and that to an extraordinary degree. Since we last met, my Lords—no matter what the form of the Spanish Constitution, no matter whether it is monarchical, aristocratic, or democratic, but, since we last met, there is one fact which no one can deny—the Government of France is in military possession of Spain. It may have been unavoidable, it may have been prudent, nay, it may have been meritorious, on the part of our Government, to abstain from taking any steps by which this possession might have been rendered more difficult, if not wholly prevented; but, surely, my Lords, this is not a state of things which the Noble Lords opposite are warranted in telling us we ought to contemplate with joy and satisfaction. I do not mean that they used those precise words, but in the present aspect of the political horizon, any intimation of that nature seems to me most wonderful. My Lords, I hold that the situation of England, with reference to the rest of Europe, is such as must give birth to the most anxious apprehensions in every English mind. Putting aside—although to do so is to act in a manner most uncongenial to my own feelings—but putting aside all considerations friendly to human freedom, and looking at the question on the dry ground of mere English interests, I repeat, that the present situation of England appears to me to be fraught with serious danger. My Lords, what is that situation? To estimate it duly we must advert to the early period of the French Revolution, and of the war which so speedily followed. I contend, my Lords, that for the last seven or eight years we have departed entirely from the ancient policy of this country; aye, that we have departed entirely from the very policy which we adopted at the commencement of the Revolution in France. Having done so; and the departure having led to events which threaten the security and happiness of these Kingdoms, I say that it is indispensable that we pause and deliberate before we determine what line of policy we will henceforward pursue. What was the ancient policy of this country? To prevent the predominance of any individual power

on the line of coast opposite our own. It had always been the opinion of our ablest writers, and our wisest statesmen, that if the whole of that extensive coast were subject to one will, the security of Great-Britain would be seriously endangered. What I contend, my Lords, is, that it is very immaterial whether this power is in the hands of an individual or of a confederacy;—whether it is in the hands of the Holy Apostolical Church of Rome, of the Grand Monarch, of Napoleon Bonaparte, or of the Holy Alliance. The war, in the early part of the French Revolution, originated in the celebrated Decree of the 19th of November; that Decree by which the National Convention held out a promise of assistance to all people who were disposed to shake off allegiance to their respective governments. Why was this Decree obnoxious? because it maintained a right of interference on the part of the government of one state with that of another. It matters not what the nature of the government which it is thus attempted to oppose is. If may be a monarchy, it may be an aristocracy, it may be a democracy, it may be the most beautiful form that a happy union of the three could constitute—yet, if attempted to be forced upon a country by foreign bayonets, the attempt is an aggression. It is the domineering principle that ought to be resisted. And yet it is this domineering principle on which the Holy Alliance have proceeded. It is on this domineering principle that they have invaded a large and powerful territory, and taken possession of it. It is clear, my Lords, that there can be no difference in the principle, whether acted upon by an individual, or by a confederacy. It always was the object of this country to prevent the existence of such a state of things. Whigs and Tories have united, in this view, of the policy of Great-Britain. It was the policy of Lord Somers;—it led to the wars of King William;—it led to the wars of Lord Chatham.

But when, by that course of events which I shall always consider most unfortunate, the King of France became the mere nominee of that confederacy, the aspect of affairs was entirely changed. What is the principle on which the Holy Alliance is formed? “That those persons who are now invested with power over mankind should continue to hold it by their own will, without any responsibility for their actions.” My Lords unless this is their principle, their treaty of concurrence is a dead letter. To prove that such is their principle, look at their deeds. When first this new system made its appearance, it assumed the shape of an Autograph Treaty. These Despots arrogated to themselves the character of the Holy Alliance. The Secretary of State for this country, Lord Castlereagh, at its communication, considered it as altogether harmless. He could not subscribe to the fears of those who saw danger in such a combination. “There was nothing at all in it,” said the Foreign Secretary, and it was only because the Government of this country was precluded, from the shape and form it wore, by the Constitution (which prescribed that to every act of connexion with a foreign power the signature of a responsible Minister was necessary), that Great Britain was not a party to it. This very objection, though founded upon formality, involved the very principle of the question. What Minister would have ventured to

have put his signature to such a document? At that moment Ministers were not aware of its character and nature. They never supposed that in its covert terms it had disguised those objects which both ambition and practice have since realized. It soon began to disclose itself. It was, forsooth, an alliance for the conservation of the Monarchical principle. Monarchical principle! What was that principle? As understood then, and since avowed by these conspirators, it was the right of one man to govern millions, not with respect to their interests, or their opinions, but solely in the gratification of his own will or caprice. Legitimacy they dared to name, using the term, not in its true and hallowed signification, of regard to those laws and precepts which the reason of mankind had sanctioned, but upon the wicked assumption that hereditary power was, under every circumstance, and in every situation, to be upheld and perpetuated, merely because there existed an hereditary claim; disregarding altogether the conduct of the person possessing it, no matter what his misdeeds were—no matter what miseries he heaped upon his unhappy subjects—his right to continue in his misrule was never to be forfeited, and those whose happiness he had destroyed were to be assailed if they ventured upon that natural remedy, a change of dynasty. Look at the history of Naples [hear, hear!]—look at the advances these wretched principles have made since the independence of that country was violated! Then, indeed, the light first broke in upon the Executive Government of this country as to the real purposes of the Holy Alliance—then it was, that for the first time, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Lord Castlereagh, perceived that that Autograph Treaty was not that very harmless, unmeaning, peaceful combination which he had at first imagined and described. He felt that it had given out tokens which left a British Minister no doubt that at least Great Britain could not be a party to it. It was true that the Noble Secretary did not even then manifest much desire to contradict such pretensions; although he was at length convinced that it embraced a rule of political action with which the policy of that country could not be reconciled. The effort was consequently made, not to oppose such a principle, but, if it were possible, to slip out of the difficulty. There was, indeed, an appearance, in some vague, indeterminate, general language, to express a disapprobation of the principle, but this disapprobation was coupled with the exception that there were peculiar circumstances in the relations in which Austria stood with respect to Naples, in which that principle was modified. There might exist some considerations of that kind; but still I hold that when, for the first time, we were called upon to pronounce an opinion on such a principle, it should have been free from all appearance of ambiguity and misinterpretation. We should have avoided the exhibition of persons, who

“Not accepting, did but half refuse!”

I trust I feel as strongly as any man the injustice of that violation; I hold in equal abhorrence such wicked aggressions on the rights of independent States, whether the people of those countries be near or remote—whether they hold a greater or a lesser rank amongst the nations of the civilized world. The injustice, the danger, is in the principle, and the attempt, under all circumstances,

should be the object of reprobation. It is very true, however, that in the case of Naples, there were peculiar circumstances, as was truly stated by his Majesty's Ministers, which did not call upon this country for the most active interposition, as compared with more recent transactions. Naples, whether from its remoteness, or its slighter connexion with this country, was, without using the words in an inviolous sense, in a state of comparative insignificance, as contrasted with our relations with Spain. We had not time, besides, from the rapid advance of the Austrian army to take an active course. The military occupation of that country by Austria left us no opportunity for remonstrance, or even an examination of their pretexts for aggression. No man could view those pretexts with more disgust than I do; and though I argue the question on the principle of policy at this moment, I am as fully persuaded that in the success of that invasion, the honor, the rights, and the happiness of all independent States were but in jeopardy [hear, hear!]. It is, however, admitted, that perhaps there is no Power in Europe less calculated by any of its movements to excite the apprehensions of this country than Austria; but despotic as that Power is, it is in the principle that it has avowed and acted upon as to Naples that every reasonable mind must discover the danger. Naples having thus been treacherously and unjustly invaded—the success in that first essay nextled to the attack of the Holy Alliance upon Spain and Portugal. Russia, at first covertly, but seeking its way, soon made a declaration of its intention, nay, of the obligation it was under to interfere with the revolution of Spain. It is no part of my case to inquire what were the actual feelings of the Spanish people as to the merits of that Constitution, which that revolution obtained. I care not what was the preponderating influence of parties. I care not how numerous were the legions of fanaticism, and it forms no part of the question with me, what and how many zealots evinced a desire to restore the old despotism, to perpetuate the system of arbitrary power, and sacrifice to the domination of one the interests of mankind. These are considerations wholly out of a just view of the subject. Grant all that the opponents of that Constitution assume, yet where in the divisions of a people, on a question affecting the improvement of their own Constitution, are these Despots to find a justification for the attacks upon the rights of independent States, and the subversion by force, of those institutions which were acknowledged by the organs of the public will [hear, hear!]? I say again, I will not stop to inquire how the people of Spain viewed the Revolutionary Constitution. Whatever difference of opinion prevailed, the armies of the Holy Alliance were not the arbiters [hear, hear!]. The Despots thought otherwise; they issued their anathemas against the people of Spain, and they decided on the subversion of its constitution by force. The Princes of the House of Bourbon, true to the principles of that House, became foremost in the crusade against the liberties of mankind [hear, hear!] True, they first hesitated—they were alarmed at the avowal of their own purposes; partly from the fear of consequences, and not from any distaste of the principle itself; and partly from an apprehensive suspicion that Great-Britain, in unison with her ancient policy,

would oppose the attempt, they remained apparently undetermined. When, however, they got at the depth of our policy, and by such knowledge these difficulties were surmounted, the House of Bourbon at once put in execution principles congenial with their ancient character. Aggrandizement, no matter what the object, no matter what the pretext—and it is too true that they acted upon a principle, the only one in which the people over whom they have been forced, could unhappily be brought to agree with them—aggrandizement was their object [hear!] The *materiel* was in France. These were the Ultra followers of these Princes, and worldly-minded and fanatical priests, who never cease, if possible, to realize their own objects, with a relay of bad men of all parties, Republicans and Napoleonists, who, following the impulse of the national character, thought not, cared not for the desolation they effected, provided their love of plunder, spoilation, and conquest on an unoffending country was successful. Acting upon that conviction, M. Chateaubriand hailed the invasion of Spain as a means of producing national unanimity. It was to be the recovering point for Bourbon influence. They were to hand over the independence of weaker but independent countries, as a spoil for French soldiery, to recover a security and a permanence for themselves [hear!]. “Dominat super alios ad servitium suum, mercedem dant” [hear!]. But why speak of freedom when talking of the States of the Continent? Where over its whole extent does freedom exist [hear]? No where through that vast tract. Is freedom to be found in Russia, Austria, or France? I deny it. Tell me not of the semblance of freedom, in what we know to be the *magistratum monstra* in Chambers or Assemblies, where one is at a loss to decide whether the profligacy of its connivance, or the disgusting excesses of individuals, are more the subject of reprobation with every enlightened mind. I ask again where freedom is to be found in any part of Europe at this moment, but in England? Is there a spot where any man would dare to say the sort of things that I am saying now [a laugh, and cries of hear, hear!]? It is probable that I am at this moment speaking what the Noble Lord (Liverpool) does not approve—what is not pleasing (and though I am persuaded that even were he a Despot, he would neither send me to prison, much less to execution) [a laugh, and hear, hear!]; yet I tell my Noble Friend, I feel a much better security in knowing that he durst not, cannot [hear, hear!]. Surely, Noble Lords must feel that they insult the sacred name of liberty, when they venture to assert that the concerns of the people form any part of the views of that combination that domineers over Europe—for where can these concerns have a friend, where there is neither recognized the liberty, the reason, or law? In my general view of the distressed Continent of Europe, I am most willing, on re-consideration, to except the kingdom of the Netherlands. So far as its power and its means extend, I sincerely believe there exists a willingness and solicitude to extend the liberties of the subject, and to increase the happiness of the people [hear, hear!]. The Noble Earl at the head of his Majesty's Government, in his speech has panegyrised

the Prince who commanded the French army in its invasion of Spain. I am not disposed to dispute the claims that that personage has to panegyric for his immediate and personal conduct in the command of that campaign; but I do declare that I listened to the prediction, that those claims afforded future hopes in his presumptive character, when, proceeding from a British Member, with consternation [hear, hear!]. Is the Noble Lord not aware of what France has affected, and by what means? Does she not, at this moment, hold military occupation of the whole of the kingdom of Spain, its fortresses and harbours? Has she not a supreme ascendancy, not alone in Spain, but in Portugal [hear!]. Are not her influence, her power, and her ambition, upheld by a Priesthood, vehement and eager to sustain and increase that ascendancy by all those means which they know how to employ, and which are too successful over the mass of mankind [hear, hear!]? Is not that ambitious Government supported also by a nominal Legislature, which so far possesses the power of Representation as to be able to lay at the feet of the Monarch all the resources of a fertile and industrious country, without the virtue or the ability to check the misapplication. Such is the Government of France; the head, I would say; but at all events, a Member of that wicked confederacy that holds at nought all those principles and rights which were, heretofore at least, acknowledged to be founded on the laws of nature, and of nations. I ask then, is that a state of the world that in a British Parliament ought to be made a subject of congratulation [hear, hear, hear!]? I ask the Ministers of the Crown whether such a position can be satisfactory to themselves? The character of our policy must be strangely altered if such a state of Europe can be an object of gratification to an English Government [hear!]. The Noble Earl has reminded your Lordships of the fact, that he had deprecated the invasion of Spain by the French Government. I ask you also to remember the manner and the tone in which he deprecated that invasion. What was that way? Was it not that France would be the sufferer—that there was a great improbability of success—that its Government did not contemplate not alone the danger from Spanish resistance; but the more imminent and more awful danger of hazarding its security in France? Was not this the language of every dispatch? Look at every document, at every record placed upon your table, and then I ask whether the amount of the Noble Lord's depreciation was not that war was to be avoided by France, because it was most likely that such war would be attended with the most disastrous events to France. I appeal to the Noble Duke near him (Wellington), who, I am sure, would disclaim and spurn the imputation of having any where used language which he did not feel to be true, whether that was not the burthen of every diplomatic communication. Was it not the admonition, the dehortation, if I may say so, of his every note and communication, when the project of violation was unfolded at Verona [hear, hear!]? Disregarded as these admonitions were, it was something beyond official assumption; it was rather too much even for Parliamentary acquiescence, to be called upon to admit our proud attitude,

our commanding influence, amidst the nations of Europe [hear, hear!]. Let us for a moment consider the proofs of that ascendancy, of that ability, which our successes afforded to arbitrate for the contract. Either the invasion of Spain by France was a good, or it was an evil. If it were a good it was accomplished without our consent or our assistance. If it were an evil, where is our boasted ascendancy, when the Ministers of England, who take credit for our proud attitude, bought at such unexampled sacrifices, admit, in the same breath, that they themselves deprecated the attempt, and that the result has been effected decidedly against our remonstrances, and, as most men feel, with consequence specially dangerous to British interests [cheers]? I confess, for my own part, that I cannot understand, much less acquiesce, in these causes for self-congratulation. In reflecting on the state of events, I can not, indeed, understand why England might not have felt it politic to interfere in such a question; but it forms, in my mind, no topic of congratulation. I can understand that, crippled and exhausted by efforts in a cause of a more ambiguous character, she was no longer capable to sustain her ancient policy of appearing as the Champion of the independence of Europe [hear, hear!]. Her inability, from previous efforts, I understand, and am ready to appreciate the argument that might be formed on it. But I do not see the propriety or the credit, to use the words of a most eloquent Colleague of the Noble Lord's (Mr. Canning), I say I do not recognize the propriety of our tricking ourselves out in all the drapery of eloquence, to appear in a character to which our own acts have lamentably proved we have no pretensions. It is most preposterous, and, again drawing upon the language of that Right Hon. Gentleman, I think that though, according to him, it would have been "an act of Quixotism to have interfered in the Spanish struggle;" I still venture to hold, that having given up and surrendered all right to that elevation of feeling and spirit of chivalry which characterized the Knight of Le Mancha, there was another quality of that renowned character which with more propriety he and his Colleagues might have exemplified—to wit, that altogether dropping their vaunted and non-existing superiority, they should have appeared with some claims to respect, from their regard to decency, as Knights of the sorrowful countenance [cheers, and a laugh]. These were the feelings that became them, and yet it was difficult to reconcile such conduct as they pursued with the impressions they must have felt from the nature of the exertions which Great-Britain had made for Europe [hear, hear!]. Was a disregard to her admonitions, to her remonstrances, the fair return for all her sacrifices of blood and treasure, and aye, of honesty too, in her dealings, as the Noble Earl (Liverpool) has at length tardily admitted this night, in reviewing our arrangements of Currency and Finance? One would have expected, that when the Holy Alliance refused to listen to the suggestions of those Ministers who had recovered for some of them their Thrones, and secured the tottering influence of others, that the exclamation of the Noble Earl, at all events of the Noble Duke near him (Wellington) would have been—

' O Peers of England ! shameful is this league  
 Fatal this contract, cancelling your fame ;  
 Blotting your names from books of memory ;  
 Raising the characters of your renown,  
 Reversing monuments of conquered France ;  
 Undoing all, as all had never been !'

In place of that natural feeling, uninfluenced by those heroic sentiments—at least we should have thought, that disappointed by their former friends, treated with ingratitude where gratitude was due, they would have met the country with a natural, a becoming feeling of humiliation. No such thing. They chuckle at self-congratulation; and, making noodles and doodles of us all, expect, that when the story is out, we must all, as the writer of *Tom Thumb* observes—

" With Nature wear an universal grin."

But whatever different views Noble Lords might entertain as to the policy of our interposition, I do pray them to reflect on the consequences of allowing the despotic principle of one tribe governing the destiny and the resources of the whole of Continental Europe. Were this the proper time I could state a variety of suggestions which the prospect or the chance of such a state of things brings to my view. Is it possible that if such a state of things was to be successful, that our free constitution—our free Press and Parliamentary discussions would not become an object of deep and serious hostility? Great as are the resources of this country, determined as is the love of independence, and great as is the industry of the people, yet who could pronounce on the result of a warfare waged by Europe under one will, against that freedom which those despots abhor? How can we tell, but that, if even the Emperor of Austria was above all such recollections, that courtiers in his Government would not be found who would breathe a lasting enmity against that right of public discussion which talked of despotic bankruptcy, and breach of imperial faith? Is it no consideration for British Statesmen, that priesthood and fanaticism has had its triumph in that country more directly convenient for extending the same principles and practices where they were likely to meet adherents in the more vulnerable part of our empire? Has not our commerce, on which our prosperity mainly hinges, been the object of the unceasing opposition of those Sovereigns? View it on every point, it is our duty to be decided. It may be a question, whether it should be our policy to divide the constituent parts of this Confederacy, and, by so doing, to nullify its purposes; it may be our policy to place ourselves at the head of a vast liberal party existing in every country in Europe, in a manner similar to the station England once held at the head of the Protestant States; or, if crippled and exhausted by our previous efforts, we should feel disposed to sever and separate from Europe, placing ourselves in connexion with the New World—linked with the United States, and looking out for those connections with the emerging Governments of the Southern districts of that Continent, which might compensate for our alienation from Europe. These, I say, may be speculations of policy—but all I say at present is, decide. These various considerations are attended with difficulty; but whatever may be the extent of that difficulty:

there is no time for delay [hear, hear!]. The election must be made—any one of these decisions, I say, is much better than the course we are now pursuing—better, I repeat, any one of them, than no system of policy at all [hear, hear!]. In the situation we now are, it is, in my conviction, impossible to persevere without probable disgrace and degradation, and perhaps without ruin and extinction—a destiny which posterity will pronounce we shall have deserved, if, with the means of preservation in our power, we have suffered them to remain in inaction.

I have quoted the above-mentioned wisdom and judicious conduct of the United States, to prove the folly of Great-Britain interfering with the French Revolution. And is not that interference, and the loss of our blood and treasure, and the risk we run of being destroyed as an Independent Nation, a confirmation of the wisdom of the United States of America, and the folly of the ruling power of Great-Britain.

The French declared they had no objection to Monarchical Government; they only wanted to regulate and improve their affairs, for the good of the King and People, and that they would have no offensive wars, none but to defend themselves; and, with the consent of the King and people, drew up a constitution, which the King accepted and swore to; that, I consider, was the end of the French Revolution. And, if we had not interfered, it would have been so, and they would have been a great, peaceable, free, independent and happy Nation; as no other dared or would have attacked their infant liberties.

But Great-Britain sent her emissaries, and lighted up the dying embers of the revolution, encouraged the King to break his oath, and run away, which he did, which drove them mad, and then they cut the King's head off, and those of many others, and in the broil which we caused, we were driven to the brink of ruin, which we have not yet recovered.

Much as the world may admire the constitution of America, and much as it may merit their admiration, if the king and people will please to examine the constitution of England, in its original state of purity, they may discover beauties and perfections in it, such as no other country in the world is blessed with.

May I here indulge the happy hope that the King and people will unite without delay, and restore the constitution to its original legitimate state of purity, both in the House of Commons and elsewhere; that they may have the pleasure and happiness of admiring and enjoying it in its original purity, and prevent this dear Country from being exposed to the above-mentioned danger, in future, which would never have happened if the people had been truly represented in the House of Commons.

The Marquis of Lansdowne's, Lord Liverpool's, and Lord Holland's speeches on the address in reply to the speech of the King of Great-Britain the 2d February, 1824; the President's Message to the United States of America, on the 2d December, 1823, together with the remarks of the *Leeds Mercury* upon it, surely all together form one of the most valuable, intelligent, and important documents that ever appeared in the world; because I do hope they will open the eyes and understandings, and remove the blind, bewildered,

infatuated state of Great-Britain, and all Europe, and enlighten them all, and convince every LADY, and every other individual in the British Empire, of the necessity, expediency, comfort, and pleasure of a reformation in Parliament; then, I say, who dare or will be any longer against such a salutary, necessary, and happy measure. I do hope and presume we shall become unanimous, and every one will promote it.

And if we consider that America is the only Power that appears, and has declared itself willing, ready and determined to stem the present terrible, sudden torrent of tyranny and oppression, and to protect, nourish, and promote liberty, freedom, religion, and virtue all over the world.

And if we consider that the Holy Alliance have conspired to destroy these virtues universally, and have executed their machinations in France, Spain, Portugal, Naples, &c. and commanding, controlling, and influencing all Europe for these dire and dreadful purposes, to the terror and danger of the freedom, safety, commerce, welfare, dignity, and of all that is dear and valuable to Great-Britain and all the world.

And if we compare the President's Message to the King's, or rather the Minister's speech to the Parliament of Great-Britain on the 2d of February, 1824, both of which, I hope, will be well considered and compared, by the King and People of this great and mighty Empire.

Can a Nation be said to be great, mighty, happy, and safe, which owes almost as much money as it is worth.

Then how wonderful that the K M of Great-Britain have not yet expressed the least fear, suspicion, or alarm at their country's above-mentioned danger, on the fall of Spain into the hands of the Holy Alliance. Where have they buried all their thoughts and attention? What a mystery it must appear to every one, that our watchmen and guardians, who are so extravagantly paid for their small services, should appear to be asleep or in a lethargy, when their vigilance and attention is more called for than ever was known. Surely they must consider themselves superior to the King their master, and also the people.



### *True Loyalty, is true Wisdom, in true Britons.*

My way of respecting my Sovereign, and proving my loyalty, is by endeavouring to protect his dignity, his empire, and his happiness. I evince my love of the constitution, by considering it the guardian of all our rights, and source of our freedom and pleasures. And it is my humble opinion, all women and men should contemplate, study, and learn to know the excellence, virtue, nature, and value of that inestimable constitution, their liberty and freedom, as the source of every thing that is dear to them, and that its preservation is the strongest proof they can give of their true loyalty to their King. And I presume they will find this the most entertaining and interesting subject in the world, embracing true religion, true loyalty, true love, and every thing that is dear, pleasant, and estimable in this life. And I hope they will throw aside all their trifling talk and amuse-

ments, and substitute this for the good of themselves, their King, their country, and all the world. And I presume they will always find this the most entertaining subject in the world, for true lovers who are truly loyal.

The following are perhaps the most prominent parts of our incomparable constitution. The foundation of this constitution is its laws, which are the rule of the King's government, and of the obedience of the people. By their own laws, Britons are free, as no law can be made or repealed, but by their own consent, given by their representatives in Parliament, which makes their subjection to laws, not forced, but voluntary. By these laws, no man can be imprisoned without cause shewn, nor can be denied a writ of Habeas Corpus, to bring him to trial, which cannot be, but by a jury of his Peers. No taxes or loans can be levied in England, without the people's consent; and none can be impressed for soldiers, but such as acts of Parliament direct, upon particular emergencies.

But here I beg leave to ask, how much is the constitution impaired, by the present practices of bribery and corruption, by money or favors, bestowed directly or indirectly, in sending our members to Parliament, and their conduct therein, where it is too well known; the majority of them are under the influence of, and represent and protect the ministers of the day, and not the people, whom the constitution in its original state of purity, intended they should represent and protect.

The Monarchy of Great-Britain is so limited, as to secure the people's liberty, and not to diminish the King's power, if all the other branches do their duty. It is a mixed government of King, Lords, and Commons, who are all three a check upon each other, and this excellent form of government is now fixed on so sure a basis, as nothing (under God) can remove; except that baneful influence of bribery and corruption, which has imperceptibly crept into the constitution, and like the canker worm, knowing its vital, and will cause its death, if a speedy remedy be not applied, which dire disease every thinking man is and will soon be alive to, and join in the generous effort to eradicate and restore the dying patient. And the leading object of this publication is to awake the King and people, to a sense of the danger of losing this inestimable treasure, the constitution of England, which is of the most vital importance to us all; and by the most cool and temperate reasoning, to induce them to restore and preserve it if possible, as the truest loyalty, and truest source of religion, liberty, safety, comfort, greatness, dignity, pleasure, and happiness. I am a whig, and this is my way of proving my loyalty to my King, my love of the constitution, and my zeal to preserve them both.

All tories who I have the pleasure of conversing with, I take the liberty of telling, and soon prove to them they are whigs in principle, but tories in practice will say they love the constitution as dearly as me, and as anxious to preserve it, then the point at issue is, which is the best way to preserve it, the conduct of the whigs or the tories. I here appeal to the latter, and have so much confidence in the tories, and their good sense and good dispositions, as to make them judge, jury, and witness in this most important case. But I shall challenge, or object to all such, as have anything to hope or to fear, to get or to

save, from the pleasure or displeasure of the—— because they have formed a phalanx, and established an influence and power of their own, distinct from, and superior to the King and people, and more dangerous to both, and the existence of the constitution than ever was known, and I hope to see the King and people soon unite to extinguish such danger.

And if they will please to take an impartial view of the operation of wealth and power, in the transactions of the world, they may soon discover, they as naturally curtail liberty and freedom, and increase oppression, as the sparks fly upwards.

### *The true Whig, or true Patriot*

Admires the constitution of England, as a treasure of inestimable value, such as no people in the world enjoy when in its original state of purity, but those of Great-Britain. He is its anxious and steady friend and guardian, the watchman of its safety, security, and welfare, and considers it his first bounden duty to hand it down to posterity unimpaired, as his forefathers gave it to him. He loves his King, the Peers of the Realm, and the House of Commons, because they, with the people, constitute this judicious, stately, inestimable, and wonderful fabric. He is coolly and deliberately endeavouring to shew the King and people, how much bribery, corruption, and undue influence have imperceptibly impaired that invaluable and pleasant edifice, the constitution of England. He believes that all thinking men love justice, and admire this inestimable treasure of our own, as much as himself; and will become equally zealous to join in restoring it to its original state of purity.

He believes that all thinking men have as strong a hatred of bribery and corruption as himself, on all petty and private occasions, but when they see them two dire enemies attacking with such violence, this darling babe, the constitution of England, they will become determined to join in their destruction.

He treats all men's opinions on politics, with moderation, deference, and respect. He believes they cannot differ upon this most important subject, if they will be cool, candid, and respectful to each other. And consider well that they have one common principle and one common object only, the welfare of themselves, their King and country, and all the world. He studies the golden rule on all occasions. He doeth justice, loveth mercy, and walketh humbly. He hates every species of tyranny and oppression. He is a true protestant, and truly religious.

The King we all know is a true whig and true patriot, and can do nothing politically wrong, if all the other branches of the constitution do their duty.

Is there a peer in the realm, who in the presence of the Almighty, will lay his hand on his heart and say, he is not a true whig and true patriot?

Is there a member of the House of Commons, who will appeal to the Almighty, lay his hand on his heart and say, he is not a true whig and true patriot?

Is there a minister of state, who will appeal to the Almighty, lay his hand on his heart and say, he is not a true whig and true patriot?

Is there an individual in the land, who in the presence of the Almighty, can lay his hand on his heart and say, he is not a true whig and true patriot?

Is there a tory in this empire, who will appeal to the Almighty, lay his hand on his heart and say, his conduct and practice has not a tendency to promote tyranny, oppression, and the destruction of the heavenly constitution of England, any of which I may venture to say, he will hate in heart and conscience to be guilty of, whenever he considers well what he is doing?

### *Whig, Tory, and Courtier.*

A true whig is a patriot, a friend to freedom, and his country, it is a political name for the friends of liberty, in opposition to tory.

A tory is an advocate for absolute monarchy. A courtier is an attender of a court, one who sides with the ministry, right or wrong, full of promises, without intention to perform.

A pecuniary saving to a man's self is a circumstance likely to arrest the attention of every one, though in truth, the saving of the constitution, is an object of more importance, as it compriseth every other; for if the constitution be subdued, our freedom will be lost, and with our freedom, will perish our ingenuity, industry, commercial enterprize, and our martial spirit; all the copious sources of domestic happiness and national consequenée, will be choked up for ever. Mr. Cooper then resumed, and continued to argue (on the authority of Lock, Milton, Lord Chesterfield, and other great names,) that free discussion never produced mischief. Political discussion was a benefit, because by attacking certain institutions, it called forth able writers in their defence, and was to a like cause, that we were now indebted to Lock's treatise on government. Neither ancient Rome, Athens, or the modern dynasty of France fell by the licentiousness of political discussion. They owed their fall to corruption and degeneracy, and the absence of a free press, to correct these vices. While he held the situation of representative in Parliament, he was the zealous supporter of the liberties of the country, and the eloquent and watchful guardian of its independence, and the enemy of bribery and corruption, and he was convinced that his son would tread in his footsteps.

### *Luxury, Oppression and Poverty.*

PROLOGUE TO MR. COBBETT'S ADDRESS TO THE MEN OF KENT.

The manner of the following address I disapprove. But the matter I think praise-worthy, because it is an additional proof that the———have played the same game uniformly, above half a century past to my knowledge, viz.—The game of bribery, corruption, luxury, oppression, and poverty, which are the dire enemies of all men and all nations, without regard to any other game but keeping their places, aggrandizing and enriching themselves, their friends, and adherents, which impoverisheth, distresseth, and oppresseth all those beneath them, in a greater or lesser degree, and spreadeth discord, discomfort, and displeasure, through the land where harmony, comfort, and pleasure should prevail.

They played it in the American war, by which we lost America, and much blood, treasure, &c. But liberty and freedom to the Americans, rose triumphant out of the contest which has become the land of independence, charity, religion, and liberty, with the laudable, generous, friendly disposition, to help all the civilized world to enjoy the same; an example which I hope will excite the attention, and be followed by all the world. Being the only way to make Nations, Kings, and people happy, great, safe and strong, and to lead them to conclude, the Almighty will bless and protect all such upright nations. And that all governments were instituted for the benefit, good and happiness of the King and people.

They played it in their attack upon the rising liberties of France, and without cause, except to prevent a reformation in the English House of Commons, forced our dear country to the brink of ruin, from which a wonderful act of providence did preserve us, when nothing else could, and I hope the whole nation doth rejoice in hearty thanks to the Almighty, for its preservation, which ended in the restoration of tyranny and oppression in France, and the dissatisfaction of their people, at the expence of many hundreds of millions of debt to us, which hangs like a mill stone about our necks, and left us in imminent danger, which now appears too obvious, and will sink us and destroy our liberties, religion, and commerce, if we do not unite with the King, and exert our talent and wisdom, to prevent it.

They played it by joining the holy alliance, which have united to extinguish the rising liberties of all nations, and thereby astonished and terrified their own country, and all the civilized world.

They have played it by their neglect to protect and nourish the dawning liberties of Spain, and our most vital interests and safety, and have thereby lost us a certain and most powerful ally, the whole kingdom of Spain, with the most important maritime fortresses in the world. By all which they, and their adherents, have given birth to, and joined a confederacy of the tyrants of Europe, not only dangerous to our liberties and freedom, and our heavenly constitution, but our commerce and our very existence, as an independent nation.

#### EXTRACTS FROM MR. COBBETT'S ADDRESS TO THE MEN OF KENT.

*On the fall of Cadiz, and on the state of England,  
compared with that of France.*

*Kensington, October 15, 1823.*

Gentlemen,

Another of my "lying prophecies," now stands before the public. From the very dawn of the French project for the invasion of Spain, I warned my readers, that the intention of France was to get possession of the fleets and arsenals and ports of Spain, and, in short, to make that country in effect a part of the French dominions.

Cadiz is now in the hands of the French. This is no Battle of Waterloo affair.

The most important maritime fortress in the world, and in their hands it will, in effect, remain as long as the English National Debt shall last. The newspapers which give us an account of the fall of Cadiz, tell us also that it is said at Paris, that the French mean to keep possession of that fortress, as long as we keep possession of Gibraltar! Good. My readers will recollect that I said, before the French actually marched into Spain, that, unless the interest of the English Debt were almost annihilated, the French would have us out of Gibraltar in three years.

Cadiz is worth fifty times as much as Gibraltar. It is superior to it for every purpose whatever; and in every respect it is beyond all measure more valuable. There are the French in possession of it; and upon what ground are we to object to their keeping possession of it. Temporary possession of that and all the fortresses in Spain we shall hardly have the impudence, I mean the modesty to object seeing that when we had "conquered France," we insisted upon keeping possession of certain parts of France for five years, and of taking certain fortresses away from her for ever as we thought. Our pretext for these was, that our army was necessary to prevent the "hydra of revolution from rearing its hideous head." And shall not the French keep up an army in Spain, and take possession of Spanish fortresses, and make the Spanish people pay their army for the same purposes? Is there one law, one gospel, one moral principle, one rule of right for us, and are there others for them?

Has Mr. Brougham bothered us about the greatest Captain of the age, until we, at last, believe in good earnest, that we are to bind down all other nations by the strict rules of moral rectitude, while we ourselves, in our quality of the "greatest Empire in the world," are to plead an exemption from all rules whatever? If we have brought ourselves to this belief, the French will presently undeceive us; for they will keep possession of Spain, and Monsieur de Chateaubriand will give Mr. Canning some pretty rappings upon the knuckles, if he shall venture to utter a word in the way of remonstrance.

Will Mr. Canning say, by what right do you hold these fortresses? Why do you keep the Cape of Good Hope and the Island of Ceylon? You took them, not when at open war against the Stadtholder; but when you were, professing to make war for the Stadtholder, and while the Stadtholder was actually living in England. Again, Why did you take and why do you keep Malta? Malta belonged to the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem. The French revolutionists took it from the Knights. You took it from the French; but did you restore it to the Knights? Oh! no! At the peace of Amiens you stipulated solemnly to restore it to the Knights; but you went to war again, when you were called upon to fulfil the stipulation, and your Ministers openly declared in Parliament, that one of the objects of your new war was to enable you to avoid the surrendering of Malta!

Will our Minister answer and say: "Aye, but these things took place a long while ago; treaties have been

made since we took possession of the Cape of Good Hope and of Malta; and these places have been ceded and guaranteed to us by these treaties."—"Oh!" the French Minister will say, "is that all you want! Morbleu! we will give you treaties enough! you shall have half a dozen of them by the next post; one for Cadiz, another for Corunna, and, if you wish it, for every sea-port and fortified town in Spain; treaties are cheap enough things. They do not cost above fifty livres apiece, though made in the name of the Holy and undivided Trinity. Six penny-worth of paper, pens, ink and wax, and a day's work for a clerk, makes Cadiz as lawfully ours as the Cape of Good Hope and Malta and Gibraltar are yours."

However, it must be confessed that there is no ground whatever for our keeping Gibraltar, which will not equally serve the French as a ground for keeping Cadiz; say, they have a ground for keeping Cadiz, and fair ground, too, which we have not for keeping Gibraltar.

Our Minister will hardly pretend that Gibraltar is at all necessary to the protection or defence of these Islands. If he were mad enough to do it, the French would need only to pull out a map of Europe to show him how much more necessary Gibraltar must be to the protection and defence of France!

If our Minister were to let slip out (and his discretion is quite equal to it,) that it would be insulting and degrading to the Spanish King and the nation, for the French to hold this maritime fortress of Cadiz; if our witty Foreign Secretary were, in the plenitude of his discretion, to make use of such an argument, would not the Frenchman exclaim, insolent, that you are, evacuate Gibraltar or hold your tongue?

What, then, does it amount to, Gentlemen? There are two great maritime fortresses in Spain.—We have possession of the one and the French of the other. Their title to Cadiz is as good as ours to Gibraltar. The very same motives that induce us to keep possession of Gibraltar, point out to them to keep Cadiz.

This fall of Cadiz; this conclusion to the war in so short a period and at such a season of the year, is a body-blow to our Thing, to the borrough-mongers, and to the Jews, too. It is a stab into the bowels of them both; and, therefore, matter of unmixed joy with me. There are some men, and very good men, too, who have looked upon the cause of the Cortes as the cause of liberty. Different men mean different things when they talk about liberty. Does the reader recollect a sentence passed by the Common Sergeant upon one of Mr. Carlile's shopmen, about fifteen months ago? That shopman, Mr. Carlile himself, his sister, Mrs. Wright, are enjoying, according to this gentleman, the blessings of liberty, which blessings, however, we do not see in their true light, until we view them in conjunction with what took place before the Government's Police Justice, Dyer, with regard to the Right Reverend Father in God, Bishop Jocelyn, uncle of the Earl of Roden, and John Movley, a soldier of the Foot Guards. Thus, then, when we look at the sentence on Mr. Carlile's shopman, and at the speech made on the passing of that sentence, we may guess a little at what the Common Sergeant means by

liberty. So far, so good. And, now, as to the Inquisition, the restoration of which is looked upon as certain, and the horrors of which are dwelt upon by our Protestant liberty-lovers with a sort of melancholy hankering and delight. Curse the Inquisition, say I. I would, if I could, stink upon it all the curses contained in the 139th Psalm; but will Mr. Denman be so good as to show, that the Inquisition has, during the last thirty years, inflicted any punishment so severe as those inflicted upon Mr. Carlile, his wife, his sister, Mrs. Wright, the shopmen, and Joseph Swann? My real opinion is, that the Inquisition in Spain has, during the whole of the last thirty years, inflicted no punishments so severe as these.

There are, however, some good men, who look upon it that despotism has now triumphed. To a certain degree, and in a certain way, and in a particular quarter, it has triumphed. But these are very much deceived, who imagine that this triumph will be favorable to our borough-mongers; and that is the thing which we have to look after; that is our affair. We are not, like Sir Francis Burdett, to look after the human race. We are to look after ourselves; we are to see how these events will affect our enemies; that is to say, the borough-mongers, who are so delighted with Power-of-Imprisonment Bills, and with Six Acts.

Well; then, the reader may be assured that these borough-mongers and all their tools will be exceedingly annoyed by the subjugation of Spain, and by the occupation of her maritime fortresses by the French; for they cannot but see that these events must lead to great consequences. Until the French resolved to march into Spain, our Ministers and their adherents affected not to believe that they would march. After the King of France had made his speech to the Chambers, our Ministers, who are men of a very lively hope, predicted that the French would not succeed. That singularly wise personage, the stern-path-of-duty man, who was made a Knight of the Garter along with Castlereagh, very confidently predicted that the French would fail; that, after a long protracted warfare, they would be compelled to retreat into France; and that bright youth, Mr. Holme Sumner, observed, that Charles V. had truly said, that if you invaded Spain with a small army, you were defeated; if with a large army, you were starved. Profound statesman! How he has profited from reading history.

These instances alone would be sufficient to prove that the Ministers, that their hangers-on, and that the hare and pheasant tyrants all over the country, wished the French to experience a great deal of trouble and of loss. They wished the Spanish Constitution to be destroyed, and all schemes of liberty in that country to be marred and blasted. But they did not wish that the French should profit from their enterprise. They hoped that they would be a long and tiresome and sanguinary affair, during which France would exhaust herself a good deal, and would throw great disgrace upon herself as well as upon the Spaniards; and that, at last, the affair would end with the destruction of liberty in Spain, but at the same time, without leaving the French any thing to boast of. And they hoped, at the same time, that they might be called in as media-

tors ; and that thus they should keep disguised from the world, their utter inability to go to war. These hopes are now blasted. Gatton and Old Sarum have now got a stab ; and if nobody else can see how this is, I can.

When the Meeting took place in Kent, only just about fifteen months ago, which of us could have thought, that in only fifteen months from that day, the French nation, whom we so recently boasted of having conquered, would be in possession of Cadiz, with a resolution to keep it (as is said to be the case), as long as we keep possession of Gibraltar ? One of my arguments in support of the proposition which I had the honor to submit to the meeting at Maidstone, was this, that without a reduction of the interest of the debt, this country never could go to war again. The words which I addressed to you upon that occasion ; that is to say, in defence of our Petition, which had been so rudely attacked in the House of Commons by John Smith, Mr. Calcraft, and Knatchbull, the brother of Captain Charles Knatchbull, English Consul at Nantes, of whose works in prison in London we read of the other day ; these words, or at least, a small part of them, I cannot refrain from repeating here :—

" This leads us to another and larger and more terrific view of the consequences of this all-corrupting, all-corroding, all-crippling, and all-ruining Debt. Well have the Petitions of the Hundred of Tapping in Norfolk called it a mill-stone, dragging down the British nation ; for it is dragging us down, and down we are going at a greater rate than nation ever yet fell ! Are we secure from the hostility of our neighbours ? Yet it may now be said of England, that she dares not think of war ; that she dare not even to be providing against it, while her enemies are growing to gigantic strength. My wishes can avail nothing ; but my sincere opinion is, that if your prayer be not heard ; if the interest of this debt be not reduced, this nation is doomed to become one of the most contemptible upon the face of the earth. The American statesmen, I know, regard our Debt as their best security. They rejoice at its existence and at the obstinacy of our Government in adhering to the system they have so long pursued. In France, I question not, the same sentiments prevail. Both those nations disentangled themselves from their Debts. They both took care to get rid of the crippling load ; and while we are adhering to the enfeebling curse, they are growing strong by the migration to their shores of the capital, the industry and the genius of Englishmen."

One would almost think, that I had received intimation before hand, from some supernatural agent, of all that was going to happen during the next sixteen months. Our friend Lord Barnley, would not hear of any reduction of the interest of the Debt. He was too honest a man, he said. Wise Coke of Norfolk, and no less wise Suffield, whose name is Edward Harboard, and whose father-in-law left him five thousand pounds to purchase a seat in Parliament. These men abused me as if I had been a thief, and the latter compared me to Oliver or Edwards, and was followed in his example by Parson Smythies of Hereford ; because I had proposed a reduction of the interest of the Debt. Yet, without such reduction, Gibraltar must go ! That is my real opinion ;

and the French Government is quite convinced that our Government dares not attempt such reduction. This is my own opinion, too ; for, Daddy Coke and Suffield, and the rest of that crew, would now seem to be begging for eternal execration, if they were to demand that which they have called me a villain and a spy for recommending. Thus the thing is most gloriously beset ; it has the Jews on one side of it, and it has the French on the other. Here stand we Radicals looking on ; we see them tearing and pulling at the thing.

Our aristocracy and their understrappers, our parsons, and the whole tribe of tax-eaters ; these are continually talking to us about the horrors of the French revolution. They never say a word to us about the causes of it. The French were, under the old Government, most cruelly oppressed by the aristocracy ; and to this oppression we ought to ascribe the far greater part of the horrors of the revolution ; but, great as these oppressions were, France might have remained for centuries without a revolution, if it had not been for the effects of the funding system ; a system quite infernal in itself ; but at last like most other evils, producing its own cure.

And, indeed, besides the point at Gibraltar, who can believe that the French nation, regenerated, reinvigorated, and full of warlike means, will much longer submit to the insult offered it in our possession of the Islands of Guernsey and Jersey ? These Islands almost touch the French land. The only use of them is to make France look little in the eyes of Englishmen and of the world. A very good use ; an use that I would still have them put to ; but, it is to be believed, that, if we cannot keep the French from occupying Cadiz and Corunna, we shall be able to keep them from taking back Guernsey and Jersey ? By war, we might, in spite of steam boats ; but, without war, does any man in his senses believe, that this can be done for another five or six years ? And, if the interest of the Debt be not reduced, we cannot go to war, and, such reduction is neither more nor less than Radical Reform, and what its enemies call Revolution.

The French, once in quiet possession of Spain, will, beyond all doubt, endeavour to bring back to subjection the South American Colonies. And, if she do this, will she not take part of them to herself ? Can we prevent this ? By war we might ; but, is it not madness to suppose, that we could do it without war ? Or, is there yet a man left to believe, that we can stop the march of the French by noisy speeches and paragraphs ? The very same reasons which rendered our prayers of no avail in the case of Spain, would render them of no avail in the case of her colonies ; and, with what face are we, who have grabbed Malta, the Cape, Trinidad, Demerara, Ceylon, the Mauritius, Pondicherry, and other matters ; with what face are we, who grabbed all these, during our wars against " Jacobins, Usurpers," and " for the liberties and independence of Europe ;" with what face are we to object to the French getting a slice of South America as a reward for their putting down " Jacobinism " in Spain ?

And, now, then, we come to this : Are we ready for war, rather than suffer the French to possess Mexico or Peru ? Are we ready for war ? That is the question. No :

they must have Mexico and Peru too, and give one of them to Russia, or a great island to Prussia: they must do just what they like; for go to war we cannot without blowing up the debt, which we cannot blow up without blowing up the church establishment and the boroughs! Oh, no: we shall not stir. Our government will be as fertile in pretexts for peace as it formerly was in pretexts for war. The nations all know our state well. They see, that what we have got and grabbed, we have bought with the money that we have borrowed; and they see, that we must now pay back this money, three for one, or blow up our whole thing; for, as I have often said, I do not know what name to call it by. The French know our state well; they describe it in their public papers; they say we cannot stir; and, can any one believe, that they, who are freed from debt, who are rich and really prosperous, will not take advantage of this our state of weakness? After having, by means of borrowed money, got together bayonet men of all nations to "conquer France," we, now that we have the money to pay, are as helpless as babies. The weakness of paper-money is on us. And will the French let slip this opportunity of regaining that which we, by means of troops hired by our loans, wrested from them? The short and long of the matter is this: we have been purchasing conquests and glories with paper money; and, being unable to pay for them, we shall, in due course of proceeding, be obliged to give them up; and, as is usually the case under circumstances of a similar nature we shall, in the end, be compelled to give up a great deal more than we purchased with our paper money.

By resolute measures we might save ourselves; but, as these include a great reduction of the interest of the National Debt, and as Daddies Coke, Suffield, and Wodehouse and Gaffer Gooch will not hear a word of such reduction, on any account whatever; as Lord Darnley will not hear of it; as Mr. Galcraft will make us "ride off," if we mention it; as Knatchbull, brother of Charles, Esquire, our gracious Sovereign's Consul at Nantes, calls it *roguey* to propose such reduction; as this is the case, we can have no reduction; and must, of course, surrender our "glories," though, in rewards to one single man, they have cost us seven hundred thousand pounds already! Alas! But, let us take comfort; for, we shall, in spite of the Duc d'Angouleme, have "Waterloo Bridge," and "Wellington Boots."

For whole weeks the newspapers of London contained the most outrageous abuse of a proposition to lessen the interest of the Debt. The French Government wanted no more than this. "Keep you your Debt," said they, "and we will get and keep Cadiz and Corunna." By this time there cannot be a single politician in France unacquainted with our state. Every man of them must now see, that our Government no more dares to talk of war than it dares to make a Radical Reform. Such facts can never be secret long. There can be no war; no, though the French were to attack the Isle of Wight; there can be no war without a blowing up of the Debt; and the Debt cannot be touched without first touching the church and putting down the boroughs. There cannot be another "Bank Restriction Bill," and another game like the last. A nation plays such a game but once.

Curious affair, Gentlemen! The things people borrowed hundreds of millions of pounds in order to hire and pay bayonet men to prevent the example of the subjects of the Bourbons from working injury to the thing: and, now, those Bourbons are insulting and kicking the thing, merely because the thing owes those hundreds of millions of pounds.

With this I, for the present, leave the occupation of Cadiz and Corunna, and indeed of Spain, by the French, to be contemplated on by Lord Darnley, his son, Knatchbull, Calcraft, John Smith, Daddy Coke, Suffield, Person Smythies, wise Wodehouse, and Gaffer Gooch. But, mind, Gentlemen, they will have no reduction of interest of Debt; mind that: that they are to stand to.

#### *Epilogue to Mr. Cobbett's Address to the Men of Kent.*

##### SIR ROBERT WILSON AND THE ARMY.

The above-mentioned, with many others, are an additional proof, and complete confirmation of the merit, courage, wisdom, judicious, patriotic, and praise-worthy conduct of the good, the brave, the great, Sir Robert Wilson, whom his few enemies allow, is one of the bravest warriors of the age; and perhaps been one of the most vital instruments in the hands of providence, which saved our country from being ruined by the misconduct of our \_\_\_\_\_ and the power of Bonaparte, which entitles him to the thanks and praise of his own dear country, and all the world, for this wonderful act in war, his great and amiable qualities, and his voluntary courage and example in going to fight, with some other brave English officers, in the cause of liberty, and his country's freedom and safety in the late Spanish contest in Spain.

Aud exhibits a most striking and true picture of the reverse, in the conduct of \_\_\_\_\_ on this important question to the safety, commerce, and liberties of our country and the world, who have used this inestimable brave officer so extremely ill, by depriving him of his rank, honors, and emoluments in the army, without a hearing; all or most of which he gained by his prowess, and reduced him from competency and comfort, to poverty; because he dared to be honest, and speak the honest sentiments of his heart, like many other good and thoughtful men. There are many good, thoughtful, and excellent men, but none that think and act for the good of their country like him, and still fewer who are out of the way of the resentment of \_\_\_\_\_ or the hope of their favors.

They did by one of their most evil and vindictive acts, reduce the inestimable Sir Robert Wilson from competency, comfort, eminence, and fame, almost to as low a state of degradation, imbecility, and misery, as they have reduced the brave and valiant refugees of Spain. (The brave champions of freedom and our safety, who have a claim to the pity and relief of this country, and all the world,) by their neglect to protect and cherish their liberties, and our safety, which they might have done with a turn of their hands, or the use of their voice;

had they said to the French or the Holy Alliance, the invaders of Spanish liberty and our safety, at your peril you do so, they dared not have done it, and it would have united Spain, and they would have defended themselves, become victorious and happy, and been our powerful, grateful, independent friends and allies, with the first maritime fortresses in the world. Then we could have bid defiance to the confederacy of Europe, without the necessity of going to war with our exhausted treasury and unbearable load of debt, which we now appear likely to be compelled to do, by the unpardonable neglect of.

And I do most sincerely hope, the above-mentioned, with many others, will be the cause of the whole nation petitioning the King, in favor of injured suffering, innocence, bravery, and merit, and pray that his Majesty will be graciously pleased to restore Sir Robert Wilson, to all his rank, honors, and emoluments which he has been so unjustly deprived of, as a just reward for his great merit, suffering, and services. And also to prevent the brave, the noble English army, and the whole nation from suffering in their feelings at the present time, or by the dire example in future, because Sir Robert was denied a court martial, or a candid hearing, which he and his friends solicited most ardently.

This pusillanimous and weak conduct in the \_\_\_\_\_ regarding the invasion of Spain, by the French, or rather the Holy Alliance, has reduced us and our liberties, to a state of unexampled mystery, difficulty, and danger, and either proves as Mr. Cobbett prophesied, that we dare not go to war, or that we are so implicated with the Holy Alliance, that we dont know how to extricate ourselves, or both, but I fear both.

Why did the French, or the Holy Alliance invade Spain, I answer to extinguish her dawning liberties, and to get possession of her maritime fortresses, to increase their power, and to destroy the rising liberties of the world.

#### *Reform, Slavery, or Revolution.*

I know some Merchants, Manufacturers, and others, who have long been labouring like me for a Reform in Parliament; they have given up the just and necessary cause in despair, and leave it to chance, and say that a revolution is inevitable. But I wish them, and every one in this mighty empire, to hear me say, oh! horror! horror! guard against it by every means you can all devise. Whenever a revolution happens you will all become a mass of beggars, unable to help yourselves or others; and a prey to each other, tearing each other to pieces. What can you do, when your capital, the funds, your heavenly constitution, all social order, and your government are in ruins? Consider that other Nations are seeking to rival you, and by a revolution you will be an easy prey. What will you do when you have lost your great local advantage, your capital, the funds; and your mercantile enterprize and your industry paralyzed; and your machinery and your coaches rusting and decaying? I send forth this humble warning voice to this now mighty Nation, to warn them against such evil to come, and to tell them that they would never recover it.

Are not we all one common family from Adam? For the sake of all that is good and sacred, let us consider and enquire of each other what we are doing, a guard against the wrath to come. With a turn of our hands we may soon make ourselves the happiest and most secure Nation under the sun.

Would you restore and preserve your constitution? or would you sink under the slavery of the ~~Holy~~ Alliance and Roman Catholic Religion? or would you hazard the necessity of a revolution, by which you would ruin your country for ever?

I say again, will you wilfully and thoughtlessly continue to allow the before-mentioned to entail upon your King, your Children and Children's Children? Slavery or the miseries of a Revolution.

Do not be any longer alarmed by the false alarms and hypocrisy of the \_\_\_\_\_, or infatuated by the poisonous bribes which many of you have so long received from its hands, directly and indirectly. Do not wait till they involve you in another ruinous war, which their actions prove they are contemplating as the only way to keep their places.

I beg leave to ask the Merchants of Great-Britain to consider well what they have been doing, by supporting these ruinous measures so long, against the welfare of their King, themselves, and country, and why they have been so?

The Almighty Hand of Providence having, by a miracle, saved us from being ruined by a Foreign enemy in the late revolutionary wars, let us pray that the inspiration of the same Almighty Power may unite the King and people in the ~~will~~ to save themselves from being destroyed by domestic enemies. Do not any longer be afraid of nobody knows what.

Foreign enemies never can or will hurt us, if we can only effect a complete annihilation of our domestic ones.

It is a prominent article of our political creed, and one of which all history affords illustration, that timely reform is the surest preventive of revolution.

Sir Isaac Coffin said, that his idea of reform was, that no man should sit there that did not possess either talent or property; the sooner the House was weeded of such men as himself the better.

#### *The British Constitution.*

Cicero was of opinion that the best Government would be one in which all the three simple forms of government should to a certain degree be mixed and combined. Such a government the British Constitution has secured to these realms. We have a monarchy in the King; we have an aristocracy in the House of Lords; we have a democracy, on the system of representation, in the House of Commons. These are the three branches of our legislature; and in our Constitution, they mutually and naturally check the encroachments of each other. So that we enjoy the advantages peculiar to each of the three simple forms of Government with the fewest possible of the disadvantages of every one of them. Nay, we moreover enjoy advantages that belong to no one of them separately; but that

result from the peculiar mode of their combination in our Constitution. In confirmation of this assertion, it needs only be observed here how essential it is to liberty, that the whole power of making laws, and the whole power of executing them should not be lodged in the same hands; for otherwise we might have laws made for tyrannical purposes and executed in a tyrannical manner;—calamities that can hardly happen where the Sovereign, to whom the whole execution of the laws is intrusted, has but a comparatively small share in framing them; and where they are framed chiefly by men interested that they be not tyrannical. Accordingly with us, though the whole executive power rests with the King, yet is the King but one branch, out of the three branches of the legislature, and that in general not the most considerable.

Thus does our Constitution provide, as far as any human contrivance can provide, that our laws be just, and that their execution be regular. And what more can we ask from any Government for the security of our liberties, than that we be regularly governed and by just laws? But what is liberty? "Civil liberty, says Dr. Paley, is the not being restrained by any law, but what conduces in a greater degree to the public welfare." And what is law?—"Municipal law, (the law of the land) says Judge Blackstone, is a rule of civil conduct prescribed by the supreme power, in a state, commanding what is right and prohibiting what is wrong." Our Constitution too has wisely provided for the religious instruction of every part of these realms. At the same time it has secured an enlightened toleration to all persons who shall chuse to dissent from the established worship.

But if our constitution be really so free, so just, so liberal, why does it not admit all its subjects indiscriminately, of whatever religious creed or persuasion, to a full participation of the offices, the honors and the emoluments, of the state? Why? Because, it would then but arm those that have the will, with the power to effect its overthrow. Why? Because almost all religious societies, like almost all others, naturally aspire to a superiority over all other similar societies; so that the state can have no possible way of averting the fatal effects of their competitions, but by rendering one of them decidedly superior to all the rest. Why? Because, among the rest, that nominally religious society, which most desires, which most labours, which most cabals, to supplant the prevailing one, will always be found the least deserving to occupy its place.—Such briefly, and very briefly indeed, is the British Constitution, the work of ages, the boast of our land, the envy, the admiration, the astonishment, of the human race. Against this are those detestable hypocrites, the jacobins, indefatigably and perpetually plotting; aiming their blows at the civil part of it through that which is ecclesiastical.

#### A BRITON.

#### *Magna Charta.*

The English Constitution was long inclosed in a feudal trunk; and upon its escaping from this bondage,

many of our ancient laws and regulations necessarily became obsolete. Magna Charta principally referred to this feudal system, being enacted when that system existed in its full luxuriance. Many of the Provisions therefore of the Great Charter are, at this day, wholly without interest; those which concerns us at the present time are as follow:—

1. A Freeman shall not be amerced for a little offence, but according to the manner of his offence; and for a great offence he shall be amerced according to the greatness of his offence, saving his contencement, &c. and none of the said amercements shall be affeered, but by the oath of good and lawful men of the vicinage.

2. No Freeman shall be taken, nor imprisoned, nor disseized, nor outlawed, nor exiled, nor destroyed in any manner; nor will we pass upon him, nor condemn him, but by the lawful Judgment of his Peers, or by the Law of the Land.

3. We will sell to none—we will deny nor delay to none Right and Justice.

Such are the clauses of the Great Charter which concerns us at the present day; and thus anxious were our ancestors to bring within the pale and protection of positive Law, with the never-failing assistance of Juries, the Life, Liberty, and Property of every Citizen—it was their first struggle to shut out arbitrary and anomalous tribunals, and proceedings against the subject otherwise than by the laws, foreknown and declared, and Juries impartially collected.

Magna Charta was confirmed no less than thirty times: indeed the first act of every succeeding King was to swear obedience to this Charter.—Both Houses of Parliament stood as a fence around it, to guard it from ravage, spoliation, and the decay of time; and the people ever looked up to it with veneration, as embodying and republishing those ancient rights and privileges which they derived from their German ancestors.

#### *A Song on Liberty Hall, that Noble Edifice of British Freedom.*

Old Homer, but what have we with him to do?  
What are Grecians or Trojans to me or to you?  
Such heathenish heroes no more I'll invoke,  
Choice spirits assist me, attend hearts of oak.

Sweet peace, beloved handmaid of science and art,  
Unanimity take your petitioner's part;  
Accept of my song, 'tis the best I can do.  
But first may it please you, my service to you.

Perhaps my address you may premature think,  
Because I have mentioned no toast as I drink;  
There are many fine toasts, but the best of them all  
Is the toast of the times, that is Liberty Hall.

That fine British building by Alfred was framed,  
Its grand corner stone, Magna Charta, was named;  
Independency came at integrity's call,  
And form'd the front pillars of Liberty Hall.

That manor our forefathers bought with their blood,  
And their sons and their sons' sons have proved their  
deeds good;  
By that title we live, by that title we'll fall,  
For life is not life out of Liberty Hall.

In her mantle of honor, each star-spangled fort,  
Playing bright in the sunshine the burnish of gold;  
Truth beams in her breast, see at loyalty's call,  
The genius of England in Liberty Hall.

Ye sweet smelling courtlings of ribbon and lace,  
Ye spaniels of power and beauties disgrace;  
So pliant, so servile, so passive ye fall,  
But passive obedience lost Liberty Hall.

But when revolution had settled the Crown,  
And natural reason knock'd tyranny down;  
No frown cloth'd with terror appear'd to appall,  
The doors were thrown open of Liberty Hall.

See England triumphant, her ships sweep the sea,  
Her standard is justice, her watch-word be free;  
Our King is our countryman, Englishmen all,  
God bless him and bless us in Liberty Hall.

Oh! vere is des Hall? Monsieur wants to know,  
"Tis neither at Marle, Versailles, Fontainbleau;  
"Tis a place of no mortal architect's art,  
But Liberty Hall is an Englishman's heart.

### *Alfred the Great.*

He died in the year 900, in the fifty-second year of his age, after a reign of twenty-eight years and six months, the greatest part whereof was spent in wars and troubles, and the rest in peace.

We have the sum of his character given by a great man, to the following effect:—O! Alfred, the wonder and astonishment of all ages! If we reflect upon the devout part of him, he seems to have lived always in a cloyster. If on his conduct and exploits in the field, one would think he had spent his days in a camp. If on his writings and studies, one would conclude the university had engrossed him. And lastly, if we regard his prudence and skill in the administration of government, he seems to have made law and politics his whole study.

He used to examine the causes tried in his absence, and in case he found any injustice done out of favor or interest, he punished the judges severely. If they pleaded ignorance, he sharply reprimanded them, and asked how they durst presume to take a commission to determine about life and property, when they knew themselves so wretchedly unqualified! and ordered them either to know better, or quit their posts. Thus Earls and great men, rather than be turned out of their office with disgrace, applied themselves to study.

King Alfred, the British worthy, is recorded to have divided the day and night into three parts; eight hours he allotted to eat and sleep in; eight hours to business and recreation; and the remaining eight hours to study and devotion.

### FORM OF ASSOCIATION

*Agreed to by the General Meeting of the County of York, held the 28th of March, 1780.*

Whereas during the present expensive and unfortunate war, the trade, manufactures, and land-rents of this kingdom have been greatly diminished; the public burdens grievously augmented by the annual imposition of new and additional taxes; the national debt enormously increased; and the undue influence of the crown extended to an alarming degree by these very circumstances, which threaten the utter impoverishment of this country: and whereas in these times of National difficulty and distress, a just redress of grievances can only be expected from a free and uncorrupted Parliament; and measures tending, in a legal and peaceful way, to restore the freedom of Parliament cannot effectually be supported but by a general union of independent men throughout the kingdom.

We whose Names are under-written, considering an economical reformation in the expenditure of public money to be a most essential and necessary measure for restoring the freedom of Parliament;

And considering also, that the representation of the people in Parliament is become extremely unequal, insomuch that a great majority of members is returned by decayed and indigent boroughs, which are either at the command of the Crown and a few great families, or else open to general venality; whence support in Parliament may be obtained for the measures of any administration, however ruinous they may be to the great landed and commercial interests of this kingdom, contrary to the true intent and use of the institution of Parliament; which unequal distribution of the right to elect representatives in Parliament is now a principal cause of our numerous public evils, to which no radical cure is likely to be applied, till a more adequate representation of the people hath been established by law.

And considering further, that when the fund of corruption hath been in some competent degree reduced, and a more equal representation of the people obtained, more frequent elections might be restored, not only to the great content of the people, but with certain advantage to the honor and integrity of Parliament itself, without the mischievous consequence of exposing independent gentlemen to vexatious contests with the dependents of any administration.

We do declare our assent to

1. The economical reform requested by the petitions of the people; that plan of strict and rigid frugality now indispensably necessary in every department of the state; that most important regulation for reducing the unconstitutional influence of the crown.

2. The proposition for obtaining a more equal representation in Parliament, by the addition of at least one hundred knights, to be chosen in a due proportion by the several counties of the kingdom of Great-Britain.

3. The proposition for members of the House of

Commons to be elected to serve in Parliament for a term not exceeding three years.

And in order more effectually to promote this laudable plan of public reformation, by our joint assistance in a peaceful way, we do associate for that express purpose, and we do testify the same by our signatures respectively. And we do resolve, jointly and separately, to support these necessary regulations to the utmost of our power, by every measure that may be perfectly agreeable to law and the constitution. More particularly we do resolve, and do mutually and most solemnly engage, that until a reasonable reform in the expenditure of public money hath been obtained, and until regulations for returning at least one hundred additional County Members to Parliament, and for shortening the duration of Parliament to a term not exceeding three years, have been established by law, we will support, with our votes and interest, no candidate whatsoever at the next general election, or at any future election, to represent this county, or any other county or place in Parliament, from whose known integrity and attachment to our free constitution, and his assent to these constitutional improvements, declared by signing this association, or in such other mode as to each candidate may seem most eligible, we shall not be first fully satisfied that he will give his utmost support in Parliament to the following propositions, or to such part of the reform proposed thereby as shall not then be accomplished, viz.

1. For one or more bills to correct profusion in the expenditure of public money; to regulate the manner of making all public contracts; and the mode of keeping and passing public accounts; to reduce exorbitant emoluments of office, and to reform the abuses of sinecure places, and pensions unmerited by public service.

2. For a bill to establish greater equality in the representation of the people in Parliament, by allowing the several counties of the kingdom of Great-Britain to elect, in a due proportion, one hundred knights at least in addition to the present number.

3. For a bill to shorten the duration of Parliaments to a term not exceeding three years.

Richard Milnes and Mr. Pitt were both members of this association.

Is it not wonderful, that the borough-mongering system, and bribery and corruption, hath governed this country so long?

To the Nobility, Gentry, Clergy and Fresholders  
of the County of York.

Gentlemen,

In the present very alarming and critical situation of the country, I think it needless to offer any apology for the step I am about to take. I have been long known to you as the advocate of Parliamentary Reform; and not to make another struggle in its behalf, especially when the people seem to be somewhat aroused to a sense of their altered condition, I should

consider as conduct base, cowardly, and criminal. Having been very long, and, since what has passed during the present Session of Parliament, more than ever convinced, that nothing can extricate the country from her difficulties but an efficient Reform in the representation of the people, I feel most anxious to communicate with those persons in the County of York, who entertain sentiments similar to my own on this most important and vital question.

Gentlemen, a public debt, more enormous than that under which any nation ever before crunched, and a consequent overwhelming, ruinous, and now nearly intolerable load of taxation, are the causes of the frightful prospects which present themselves to our view. From these grievances we never can expect to be relieved, unless that vicious and unconstitutional system is annihilated, which has been the cause of the one, and which is deeply interested in the maintenance of the other. Parliamentary Reform, therefore, I conscientiously believe, is the only measure which can effect our present salvation, and give us security from future misrule.

Gentlemen, you will doubtless expect to hear from me what plan of Reform I should wish to see adopted. I answer, without hesitation, though I conceive the mode of operation must be left to that assembly, to which alone it can be referred, that the country ought not to be satisfied with any scheme of Reform, which would not provide for the abolition of that undue and unconstitutional influence, which has so long prevailed in the House of Commons, keeping both the Sovereign and the Subjects in thrall.

Such a Reform as would make the Members of the House of Commons, to use the language of Sir Edward Coke,—"General Inquisitors of the Realm," receiving their Commissions from the people—to consult on public Affairs—to advise the Crown—to control the Acts of its Ministers—to enact Laws—to audit the public Disbursements, and to assess the Contributions of their Constituents.

Such a Reform as would make elections what the delivering Prince of Orange, in his famous declaration for restoring the laws and liberties of England, proclaimed they ought to be:

"Free—to be made with an entire liberty, without any sort of force, or the requiring the electors to choose such persons as shall be named to them. In order that the persons thus freely elected may be enabled to give their opinion freely upon all matters brought before them, having the good of the nation ever before their eyes, and following in all things solely the dictates of their consciences." Denouncing as unconstitutional those Parliaments in which elections shall be carried by "force or fraud," as not legally chosen, since they must be composed of such persons as evil councillors shall hold themselves assured of, in which all things will be carried according to their direction and interest, without any regard to the good or happiness of the nation.

Such a Reform as would render the bill of rights something more than a dead letter; which would, in the memorable words of the late Mr. Pitt, make the Members of the House of Commons "the faithful

stewards of the interests of their country"—“the diligent checks of the administration of the finances”—“the steady and uninfluenced friends of the people”—“which would give us the benefit of upright and able ministers, while it would prevent evil and incapable ones from doing us any more mischief”—which would invigorate that branch of our constitution, which, from the incessant change in human affairs, is now become inefficient to the uses for which it was intended; which would finally remit to the people of England the right of the British Commons to be represented in “full, free, and frequent Parliaments.”—This is the language of the bill of rights:—however, to prevent all misconception with respect to my own views, I think it necessary to state, openly and fairly, (though it is, for principle alone I publicly contend) that they do not extend beyond the extinction of those boroughs in which the electors ought to be considered as too few in number, and the extension of the elective franchise to householders.—With respect to the duration of Parliaments, Triennial Ones I should consider as the best mean between the two extremes.—That duration with which Mr. Pym was contented in the 17th century, and the framers of the Triennial Bill in the last, I must own will abundantly satisfy me.

Such Gentlemen, is my humble view of this great subject and should there be any persons in the County of York who concur with me in opinion, I hope shortly to afford them an opportunity of making their sentiments known.

I propose, therefore, to be at Mr. Ettridge's Hotel, in York, on the Thursday in the ensuing Race-Week, when, if a sufficient number of persons do me the honor of meeting me, it may be considered what may be the most efficient future means to forward the great object we have in view.

Whatever may be the result of my appeal, I can venture to assure you, Gentlemen, that a more disinterested one was never made—I have no party views to serve, for I am a man of no party. I have no expectations in view, of any sort or description, either public or private. I have no political animosities to avenge, I have no other motive, so help me God, for the step I have taken, but a sincere and most anxious wish to restore the liberties, and so to promote the security and prosperity of my country.

Should I succeed, Gentlemen, in arousing my native County to a sense of her consequence, and to a recollection of the manly and proud attitude she assumed at the end of the American War, when, greatly through her efforts, a former ministerial reign of misrule, intolerance, folly, and profusion, was put an end to—I shall be richly repaid for the trifling exertions I am able to make.

Should I fail—I have only again to retire into the bosom of my family, but I shall carry with me a feeling of inestimable value to me—the grateful consciousness—a recollection which will cheer me under every future circumstance of my life—that, in the day of her peril, I did what I conceived to be my duty to my Country.

I have the honor to be, Gentlemen,  
Your most humble and devoted Servant,  
WALTER FAWKES.

Farnley-Hall, July 1st, 1822.

## YORK COUNTY MEETING.

Wednesday, Jan. 22, 1823.

The Meeting of this great County, which had been anticipated by the whole, esp[ecially] with great interest, took place this day in the Castle-yard, at York. The attendance was much larger than could have been expected at this most inclement season. The hustings which were capable of holding six hundred persons, were crowded with Gentlemen of the first consequence and respectability in the County, and the persons assembled in the spacious area below, at the most moderate computation, may be estimated at five thousand persons. Amongst the distinguished persons present we noticed Lord Milton and Miss Stuart Wortley, the County Members, G. Strickland, Esq. J. W. Cleagh, Esq. Christopher Wilson, Esq. Sir Wm. Fiklington, Bart. James Hannerton, jun. Esq. T. W. Tottie, Esq. John Brewin, Esq. Ottewell Wood, Esq. Hon. E. Petre, Hon. Sir R. L. Dundas, Hon. Sir H. L. Dundas, Thos. Benyon, Esq. G. F. Bedlow, Esq. Wm. Lee, Esq. Sir William Ingilby, Bart. John Wharton, Esq. M. P. Hawkesworth Fawkes, Esq. Wm. Walker, Esq. M. Wyntill, Esq. M. P. George Harker, Esq. Francois Chetmeley, Esq. Joseph Wood, Esq. John Egremont, Esq. John Hague, Esq. Sir F. J. Wood, Bart. W. B. Wrightson, Esq. John Hutton, Esq. Thomas Meynell, Esq. John Lee, Esq. Thomas Rawson, Esq. Walter Fawkes, Esq. R. M. Bayley, Esq. Rev. W. Wharton, Arthur Heywood, Esq. G. W. Wentworth, Esq. J. C. Ramsden, Esq. M. P. W. R. Crompton, Esq. Benjamin Flounders, Esq. Henry Witham, Esq. W. A. Buxfield, Esq. Richard Sykes, Esq. Sir John Ramsden, Bart. Robert Chattox, Esq. M. P. The Right Hon. the Lord Mayor, Sir Charles Wolseley, Bart. Charles Howard, Esq. S. W. Ward, Esq. R. Beithy, Esq. Alderman Dunley, Kountzey Wilson, Esq. &c. &c.

The High Sheriff, attended by the Under Sheriff, came upon the hustings at eleven o'clock, and the business of the meeting was almost immediately commenced by the Under Sheriff reading the requisition, which had been signed by upwards of two thousand Freeholders.

The Requisition having been read by the Under Sheriff,

RICHARD BETHELL, Esq. the High Sheriff, addressed the Meeting in the following terms;

“Gentlemen. In consequence of the requisition which has just been read to you, I felt it to be my duty to afford you, with as little loss of time as possible, an opportunity of exercising your most undoubted right of discussing all measures in which your welfare and that of the country is involved. The subject of the Reform of Parliament, on which you are now called upon to deliberate, is one of the very highest importance; and I trust that whatever animation may be called forth in the course of the discussion, your feelings will be tempered by moderation, and controlled by a proper respect for the laws and institutions of the country. And as you value the rights of free discussion, I trust that you will give to every Freeholder an opportunity of being fairly heard, however much he may oppose your own views.

By adopting this line of conduct, you will stamp upon this meeting a character, worthy of the great, and enlightened country of which you are freeholders."

Mr. FAWKES rose and said, " Gentlemen, it has frequently fallen to my lot to have the honor of addressing myself to you within these walls—But, under no circumstances did I ever present myself to your notice so truly momentous, of such vital importance to the country, as the present. Gentlemen, on this day, no effort will be required to rouse your manly and patriotic feelings to resist the insolent menace of foreign aggression [hear, hear.] You are not to be urged, on this occasion, by your tone and decision, to add confidence and strength to the arm of executive government, to save your country, your altars, and your homes, from a foreign yoke. You are not assembled to sway, to give higher authority to the votes and voices of your representatives, by a formal and solemn expression of your will, which the law of the land authorises you publicly to declare, whenever you conceive the situation of the country requires your direct interference—on any common occasion, to induce them to oppose this or that unpopular impost—or, to withdraw their support from some undeserving, but, perhaps, favourite minister. You have not to put yourself on your guard against " Malice domestic, or foreign levy." No, Gentlemen, you are assembled for another and a loftier purpose—one with which all pitiful party politics have nothing to do—one from which all the baser passions, which too commonly sway our nature, are, I trust, entirely excluded—one in which prejudice, favouritism, and factious oppression, have nothing to do. [hear, hear.] And did I not assert this, sure I am, I should not be doing justice to the feelings of those I see before me, who have pressed forward from every part of this extensive county, to engage in the noblest of all causes—to save a sinking country, by the restoration of her liberties, through the constitutional assertion of their own invaluable and inalienable rights.

You are called here to-day seriously and strictly to consider, and to denounce (unless you hear arguments to silence our propositions,) not the actors simply, but the corrupt and unconstitutional system on which all public men have so long and so fatally acted. That system must be got rid of which has enabled one set of men—a cabal, to rule, without almost any control, for near half a century, under a determination unknown, until the beginning of the last reign, by means of corrupt majorities in that assembly, emphatically called "Yours," the Commons' Chamber. A system under which the country has been loaded with burthens, from which, if some relief be not speedily afforded, one portion of the community, and that the largest and perhaps the most useful, must inevitably sink—arising out of an extravagant expenditure of the public money, so enormous, that it would be incredible, if it were not proveable. A system under which all our political rights have been deeply and permanently invaded, and wholly abandoned whenever the executive called for the surrender of them. A system which is seen in an almost universally prevailing venality—in large, and, as our ancestors thought, unnecessary standing armies in time of peace.—A system seen in the blush which must

tinge the cheek of every genuine Englishman, when he considers that his country—that Great-Britain, heretofore, on all occasions, the asylum of liberty—that the country of Elizabeth and William has held any communion with the despots of the Continent, who have conspired to crush the rising liberties of mankind, and who have, in their vile note, had the audacity to declare that they conceive the efforts of those gallant and oppressed descendants of the men who bled at Marathon, and fell in defence of their country at Thermopylae, to emancipate themselves from the ferocious, cruel, and bloody rule of the Musselmen, as a criminal effort:—(Lord and reiterated cheers.) In a host of idle placemen, sinecurists, and pensioners, wallowing in luxury, while thousands of their countrymen are steeped in poverty to the very lips; in the workings of spies, hired to stimulate the people to the commission of outrages which they had manifested every disposition to avoid—[Hear, hear.] In the restraints put upon the liberty of the press, by the modern practice of Westminster Hall; and in the trial of all those who have dared to oppose themselves to its baneful effects, with every sort of aggravated fine and imprisonment, capital punishment, and unconstitutional oppression.

" As my opinion on the subject under consideration have been very long known to you, both by word of mouth and through the medium of the press, I will not be guilty of tautology, I will not trouble you with a repetition of them on the present occasion. But, indeed, what need to recur to them? Political knowledge has of late been diffused with rapidity and success; and who, Gentlemen, in your situation of life, can be at this day ignorant, that the great Charter of your liberties, and the Bill of your Rights, declares that one of your Rights, and that by far the most material one, is the Right to be represented in a Free Parliament.—[Hear, hear, hear.]

" Touching a question, such as that under our discussion, facts, stubborn facts, carry more weight with them, than all the periods of the brilliant and fascinating oratory; and should I be able to convince you of the absolute necessity of a very material change in that branch of your government, to which is intrusted the protection of your liberties and property, it will give me more satisfaction, because I shall then be assured that your conviction rested on a more solid foundation than all the declamatory or rhetorical flourishes, which a subject so fertile and popular might enable me to display to you. [Hear, hear.] Gentlemen—I have already stated, that the evils which the country is enduring, and those with which it is menaced, are in a great measure owing to a debt, hanging like a mill-stone about the neck of the country, arising from an expenditure, so profuse, so unheard of, that it would be considered as a fiction, if it were not clearly and undeniably demonstrable. A few words on this head, and then let us seriously consider whether such a complete abandonment as I conceive will be apparent; of all regard for the pecuniary interests of the people on the part of their representatives, be not attributable to a defective system of representation; whether, in short, the members of an assembly, sympathising with those

who deputed them, would ever have suffered the ministers of the crown to place the country in that state of imminent danger and financial embarrassment, which now appals the stoutest hearts among us; a state from which, great must be the skill, and comprehensive, and vigorous, and fertile must be the mind, that can "restore us, and regain for us our happy and blissful state."

"I dare not trust wholly to my memory, in calculations so astounding as those I am about to submit to you. I have, therefore prepared some tables, which will point out, I trust intelligibly, the point I wish to establish—And, Gentlemen, if they make the same impression on your minds as they did on mine when they first met my view, all that I can say is, that my errand here will be very nearly accomplished. Will it not astonish you, when I tell you, that in one King's reign of 59 years, three times the sum has been expended, which the nation had expended during the reign of all its previous sovereigns, thirty-one in number, from the Conquest, and in a period of 700 years? [Hear, hear.] Fifty thousand guineas, placed side by side, will not extend above a mile; but the sum squandered would reach twice round the whole world in guineas—a distance of nearly 48,000 miles. [Hear, hear.]

Spent in 622 years ..... £214,000,000

On an average £400,000 a-year. The nation incurring not one shilling of debt—all expences paid within the year—and at the close of each year every man's property unencumbered.

At the close of the reign of George II.

spent ..... £795,060,847

Debt ..... £129,000,000

With a charge of £8,000,000 a-year for

expences of the government.

Such was the situation of things in 1760.

In the single reign of the late King, spent ..... £2,307,000,000

Three times the value of the whole kingdom.

Debt ..... £1000,000,000

A greater sum than all the land in the country is worth, if every acre was sold at 25 year's purchase, on the annual rents—[Hear, hear.]

During the period of the late King's reign, the price of the produce of the kingdom in the articles of food and clothing, according to the most moderate computation, has increased from 100 to 200 millions per year—which excess of 100 millions, added to the increase of our taxation, makes the enormous sum of 150 millions a-year additional cost, to be paid by the subjects of this realm, more than was paid at the period of the late King's accession to the throne—a sum equal to five times the amount of the rental of all the land in England—[Hear, hear.]

Let me now ask, what description of the community it is, that is called to pay the interest of this enormous accumulation of debt. Who pay millions a-year for their beer and porter? millions for their breakfasts? millions for all those articles which swell the amount of the customs and excise?—not the higher orders, but the bulk of the people. I have seen a calculation in which it is stated, that our population, consisting of about

17,000,000 souls, embraces about 3 million of heads of families, containing from 5 to 6 persons in each—of these seventeen millions, those who are maintained without labour amount to less than one-thirtieth. It therefore follows, on an equal division, that the industrious classes of the community pay in the proportion of 145 millions to 5 millions paid by the higher classes, and yet a pitiful fraction of these latter classes have usurped and claim as their right, an almost exclusive privilege of imposing taxes on the whole. I mention these calculations, with observations I have superadded, to show that the gentlemen around me, and who have called you together, have not done so in the hopes of obtaining any benefit to themselves—that they feel for the burthens of the whole community—and that they only call for Reform because they are satisfied that it will be of advantage to all the inhabitants of the empire.

"I shall proceed to point out to you how the House of Commons is at present constituted, with reference to those whom they are supposed to represent." Mr. Fawkes now read extracts from Lord Grey's petition. According to this petition from the friends of the people, presented to the House of Commons May 6th, 1789, it appears that a majority of the members is returned to the House of Commons (for England and Scotland) by less than 16,000 electors. [Hear, hear.]

ENGLAND. Members.

Returned by 35 places, where the election is a mere matter of form .....	70
By 46 places, in none of which the voters exceed fifty .....	90
By 19 places, in none of which the voters exceed one hundred.....	37
By 26 places, in none of which the voters exceed two hundred.....	52

Total for England ..... 249

SCOTLAND.

By 20 counties, with less than 100 voters each	20
By 10 ditto, with less than 250 voters each .....	10
By 15 districts of burghs, with less than 125 voters each .....	15

Total for Scotland ..... 46

For England ..... 249

Total ..... 294

Being 14 more than a simple majority of the house.

Mr. Oldfield's statement.—(*Hist. of Burghs, 2nd Ed. 1816.*)

Members returned by 87 Peers in England and

Wales .. .... 218

By 21 ditto in Scotland .. .... 31

By 36 ditto in Ireland .. .... 51

Total returned by Peers .. .... 300

Members returned by Commoners in England and Wales .. .... 137

By 14 Commoners in Scotland .. .... 14

By 19 ditto in Ireland .. .... 20

Nominated by Government .. .... 16

Total.... 187

Total number returned by Nomination . . . 487  
Independent of Nomination . . . . . 171

Total number of Members — 658

*Lord John Russell's Statement.*

The Votes of the English Borough Members upon the Reduction of the public Establishments, when analysed, stand thus:

FOR AGST.	
In 33 Boroughs, under 1,000 inhabitants each	12 44
In 35 ditto, under 2,000 . . . . .	15 45
In 76 ditto, under 5,000 . . . . .	48 93
In 25, under 10,000 . . . . .	22 27
In 31, above 10,000 . . . . .	38 21

" Such facts as these require no comment !

" The Act of Settlement, which was made for the greater security of the King and his subject, enacted, that the better to secure the liberties and property of the latter, no placemen or persons holding situations, who might thereby be influenced by the Ministers of the Crown, should sit in the House of Commons. The table I am going to submit to you, and about which there can be no cavil, will exhibit to you, how much of late the patriotic spirit, to say nothing of the letter, for a part of it has been repealed, for reasons I leave you to guess, has been adhered to. Mr. Fawkes then read an extract from the Report of the Committee of the House of Commons, in these terms :

The Committee report to the House, that 57 Members of Parliament hold offices under the crown ; the net emoluments of which are £108,565 11s. 0d.

That there are 13 Members of Parliament holding offices in the appointment and at the pleasure of public officers, the emoluments of which are : 28,107. 4s. 2d.

That there are 7 Members of Parliament holding offices or pensions for life, under grants from the crown, the emoluments of which are £9,658. 8s 10d.

That there is one Member of Parliament holding office for term of years, under grant from the crown, or other public office, the emolument of which is £15 9s 1d

That there are 4 Members of Parliament holding offices for life, under appointments of the Chiefs in the Courts of Justice, or from other public offices, the emoluments of which are £10,361. 1s. 5d.

That there are 5 Members of Parliament holding pensions or sinecures, or offices chiefly executed by deputy, &c. the emoluments of which are £7,478.

That there are 2 Members of Parliament holding the reversion of offices under the crown, after one or more lives, the emoluments of which are £6,49.

The Committee further report, that there are 79 Members of Parliament holding naval and military commissions, 59 of whom hold other offices, and are included in the preceding classes.

Thus we have 89 members of the honorable House of Commons receiving from the pockets of the people, the sum of £170,343. 14s. 4d. To which should be added 30 from the 79 members, who hold Naval and Military commissions, not holding other places, making together 109 members, who are more or less dependent on Government. And to the sum of £470,343 4s. 4d. should be added the pay of the 79 officers, which if taken at £500 a year for each of them, will amount to £39,500, making a total sum of £209,843. of the public

money, received by 109 members of the House of Commons.

" But, Gentlemen, this is not all. I shall now show you what the families and patrons of those who are placemen and pensioners, and sinecurists, &c. in the House of Commons, receive from the public purse. Gentlemen, where I might be in an error on the slightest point, I will not mention the precise sum to a fraction ; but on the most careful analysis, it is found to exceed considerably one million of money.

" After making these communications to you, I feel satisfied I should only weaken the effect they are so well calculated to produce, by adding any observations of my own. If they do not satisfy you of the necessity of a Parliamentary Reform, no additional arguments of mine could be of any avail ; you would scarce be convinced, though one were to come from the dead.

" As Mr. Canning did me the honor to notice my feeble exertions in his celebrated attack upon the cause of Parliamentary Reform, at Liverpool, I must take this occasion to attempt to make some reply to his remarks—(Hear, hear.) Gentlemen, though I always had the misfortune to be opposed to Mr. Canning, as a politician, still I must say, that there are few men to whom I have listened with more satisfaction and delight. His speeches always appeared to me compounded of talent, learning, eloquence and wit, and I only regret that so much vigour and intellect have not been employed in a better cause. From a man so gifted, however, commendation must always be acceptable, and I wish him to believe that I was far from being insensible to the opinion he did me the honor to say he had formed of me. I trust, therefore, he will give me credit, when I say, that my present observations are made without any tincture of personal hostility. I shall ever admire Mr. Canning as an admirable orator ; but as a logician, I must still take the liberty of differing from him. In his late speech at Liverpool, Mr. Canning stated, that he considered our Government as a limited Monarchy, and that an independent House of Commons was incompatible with its existence. Now, Gentlemen, I consider Mr. Canning's major proposition as false, and therefore his premises to be decidedly disputable. Our Constitution, if all public writers and commentators on our form of Government are not mistaken, is not one limited Monarchy, but a compound of three limited estates :—1. A limited Monarchy—2. A limited Aristocracy—3. A limited Democracy. By what logic, then, does it follow, that because each branch is limited, one branch shou'd be impure to its construction ? If this reasoning is just, why should not a hundred Commoners be thrust into the House of Peers, on the score, that a pure Aristocracy is incompatible with the existence of a limited Monarchy ? Why should not even the King have associates given him on the plea, that power lodged with one individual is incompatible with the existence of deliberative assemblies ?

" How simple, Gentlemen, is truth—into what errors, perplexities, and difficulties are we not plunged, when we wander from her paths. Why not consider our Constitution as composed of three different estates, as all its ablest expositors have represented, each pure and

perfect in its nature, but of opposite tendencies when in action, kept in their places by alternate attraction and repulsion; and, like the planets, preserving their motions and completing their orbits, on the unvarying plan of harmony and order? This opinion, Gentlemen, seems to have been forced on Mr. Canning, by an idea he has formed, that the Government could not be carried on, unless the executive had a control over the people in the House of Commons. But whence this novel doctrine I would ask—that institutions intended for the benefit of the public, can only be maintained by the existence of abuses? In my view, this is downright and absolute tyranny in disguise; for whatever may be said of the benefit of a control over the people, through the medium of the House of Commons, may be said, and has been said, of the benefit of absolute despotism, in the hands of a single individual!

"This, however, Gentlemen, is the boasted system of virtual representation, which is no more than a pitiful modification of no representation at all—a plan to impose upon the weak, for the benefit of the interested and the cunning. It is the same thing, whether the pretended representative body be influenced by one man or two hundred; in the first place, it is a disguised tyranny; in the other, an odious and dangerous oligarchy.

"Mr. Canning, however, Gentlemen, says, that this oligarchy—this government of the few, cannot be disturbed, because it would be an act of arbitrary injustice to disfranchise the close boroughs. But I would ask, how would an act of injustice be thus done to the proprietor? That law must first be shown to me, which gives one man a title to as much weight in the councils of his country, as all the inhabitants of Westminster, or of this county, consisting of 1,100,000 souls. If his borough were disfranchised, he would still have a vote for his county, and that, I contend, is all the right that belongs to him. But, Gentlemen, if these vested rights, as they are called, are to be preferred to the safety of the country, what are we to think of the despotism of James II? He was an hereditary King—had he no vested rights in the proudest possessions upon earth? Yet, when it was considered that the safety of the state required it, this was no plea, his subjects at once compelled him to abandon his throne—nor did they either think it necessary to make him any compensation for the loss of it; for they sent him to beg—(Hear, hear.) Oh! St. Helena! with all thy native and all thy added horrors, what a paradise, what a bed of roses thy rock must have been in comparison!—they sent the infatuated tyrant to beg his daily bread from the bitterest enemy of his country!

"The imminent dangers incident to the change are next put forward dressed in all sorts of exaggerated horrors to alarm you. But surely you must recollect that more serious alterations have occurred in your history than those you now call for, and have been carried into effect without in the slightest degree endangering the safety of the community. What think you of the reformation and revolution? what of the two unions with Scotland and Ireland? when two distinct and ancient legislatures were not reformed, but positively subverted—(Hear, hear.) Were not members

given to Chester and Durham, when they complained they were not represented, without any body urging the absurdity of virtual representation? Have not Shoreham, and Aylesbury, and Cricklade, and Grampound, been disfranchised, without any body uttering a whisper of complaint, without the slightest appearance of danger? (Hear, hear.) What should prevent then the extinction of other rotten and close boroughs similary circumstanced? But Mr. Canning says, he would sacrifice Grampound to save old Sarum; that is, he would throw a tub to the whale now and then, provided the mass of these places, giving Government a control over the people, were so preserved intact: (Hear, hear,) because he says a popular parliament would do now what a popular parliament did before, subvert the Monarchy, and decapitate their King. In proof of this, Mr. Canning quoted the resolutions of the long parliament. Now Gentlemen—I do not accuse Mr. Canning of garbling these resolutions, but there is one most material fact he forgot to state, which overturns the whole of his reasoning, and gives ten-fold weight to mine; which makes his balance as light as a feather, and fills mine with damning proofs of the mischiefs of the system I have been attempting to expose. He forgot to state of what description of members this parliament was composed. (Loud cheers)

The Resolutions voting the House of Lords and the Kingly office useless, were passed Jan. 4, 1649.

On the 22d of January 1643, fifty Members of the House of Commons were expelled (Vid. Journals.) for deserting the service of the House.

On the 29th of June, 1644, by an ordinance, two hundred members, who had adhered to the King, were disabled from sitting in Parliament, during the existing Parliament.

And on and after the 5th of December, 1648—by Pride's Purge, one hundred and forty-three Members were secluded or imprisoned.

The remaining Members, eighty-nine in number—Sixteen County Members—Six Citizens—Sixty-seven Burgesses, arrogated to themselves the Sovereignty of the Nation, and voted the resolutions alluded to by Mr. Canning, Dec. 4, 1649.

Now comes the jet of my argument, out of these Eighty-nine Members, Sixty-seven were returned for what Bishop Burnett called the Rotten Part of the Constitution—the Close Boroughs. Such were the proceedings of the Rump of a Borough faction in the year 1649. (See Mr. Colman Rashleigh's able and admirable letter to Mr. Canning.)

Is the same combination now a day impossible, improbable, or hypothetical? Have we forgotten the intrigue in the case of the India Bill, when this faction coalescing made the House of Commons vote contrary to the feelings of the King and the wishes of the People? What if the King and a majority of this powerful body should unite, what upon earth could save the Country, but the measure we advocate?

"I have now Gentlemen, as far as in me lies, done my duty to the great cause I have so long and ardently espoused. Let me again exhort you to lift up your powerful and constitutional voice, to rid the country of that system in which you can view nothing but

mity and perhaps national convulsion, the inevitable ruin of the landlord and the tenant, the dilapidation of the cottage, and the extension of the workhouse. Let the system be changed, and you will at once exchange the rule of those men who may have ruined you, and who have most assuredly deluded you—who have ascribed your distress to almost every cause but the real one—who have, for the last seven years, been dinging in your ears that your privations would only be temporary—(Hear, hear.) That the sum of your prosperity was, indeed, behind a cloud—but that it would only be obscured for a moment—when the fact is—that the gloom has been gathering deeper round us from the moment this prediction was made. (Hear, hear.) Call again, I say, for this change, not of men but of measures; and in the great storehouse of the talent and natural and acquired intelligence of your country, you will, depend upon it, find rulers, who, governing in justice and equity—to the spirit of conciliation and sympathy with those whose interests are entrusted to their care—will have no other object than to “scatter plenty o'er a smiling land”—and who would think themselves richly repaid—in reading their history in the expressive eyes of a happy and grateful country.

Mr. Fawkes concluded, amidst the loudest applause, by moving the resolutions.

The Hon. EDWARD PETRE, in presenting himself to the meeting said, “I should be wanting in that candour which I hope will always govern my public conduct, if I did not come forward and avow that I am a recent convert to those views which have been advocated this day; and however I may regret that such a declaration will compel me to differ in opinion from many Gentlemen, whose opinions I respect, yet, when I see the arm of power extended, not for the purpose of contributing to the happiness of the people but to oppress them; when I see and witness these things, I feel that it behoves me to renounce my error, and to advocate the doctrines to which I have formerly been opposed. I am now convinced that nothing short of a constitutional reform can restore that sympathy, which, to use the words of a great statesman, ought to exist between the representatives and their constituents, and be an effectual safeguard against a renewal of those destructive measures which have been so long pursued. Powerfully impressed with these sentiments, I beg leave cordially to second the resolutions.

Mr. WORTLEY.—“Gentlemen, I fear I shall be under the necessity of asking for a great deal of your indulgence. I come here impressed with feelings entirely different from those which have been expressed by my two honorable friends. [Loud disapprobation, which continued till Mr. Fawkes came forward and entreated the meeting, as a favor to himself, as well as for the sake of impartiality, to give a fair hearing to his honorable friend.] I know perfectly well that many of the things which I shall advance are entirely repugnant to your feelings, that many of those who hear me are undoubtedly very adverse to the opinions I hold in politics, and particularly to my opinions on this subject. I have, however, a duty to perform. You have done me the honor to place me in a high situation; and if I have any opinions on political subjects, I have never

shrank from expressing them before you. (Hear, hear) Although they may be unpopular, I throw myself on your candour, on your good nature; I ask of you to listen to me with patience, while I endeavour to point out to you what I conceive to be the fallacy of the arguments that have been used by my honorable friends. I also beg of you not to take it ill, if I should use such words as “fallacy,” if I should tell you—you have taken wrong views of this matter, and that you are now in a situation to be duped by specious arguments—(Murmurs.) I know very well that expressions like these may be so applied as to irritate the feelings; that however is the furthest thing from my intentions; but if I speak at all, I must speak boldly. I am quite sure that from all those around me I shall meet with the most perfect silence while I address you; I know their candid minds, and that of no man more than the honorable gentleman who moved and seconded these propositions. I will not speak of the eloquence of the honorable mover, but I will say that he has put his arguments in as candid and fair a manner as I ever heard in my life. If he be right in his premises, I perfectly admit his conclusions; if it be true that he has described the constitution as it was in the best times of our history, you have a right, and are perfectly justified, in calling upon Parliament to reform itself. But I deny his premises, and I shall endeavour to make out to you, that he has taken a wrong view of the constitution as it existed at that time, to which we look back as the period when it was completely formed. I say, that for four hundred years, the house of Commons has been what it is now. If I shall be successful in proving this—if I shall convince you that the present state of the House of Commons is not a state of usurpation, either on the part of the aristocracy or the crown, I think I may fairly put it to you what has been done during this time; and I may ask you whether, during these four hundred years, the nation has enjoyed great blessings?—(Laughter.)—Now, Gentlemen, in the first place, I say, that whatever may have been the constitution of Parliament previous to the time of Henry VIIIth and Queen Elizabeth, that from that time forward direct influence was always used in the House of Commons both by the aristocracy and the crown. Previous to that time, undoubtedly, Parliament assembled for special purposes, and could not be called the same description of assembly it is now; but from the time of those Monarchs I have mentioned, I will say that many of the boroughs now under the influence of the aristocracy have been so uniformly. It has been stated, in the famous petition from the friends of the People, that this was an usurpation, and that these places had fallen into a state of decay. I will state some facts in refutation of this assertion; and to begin with Old Sarum. I should be glad that any honorable gentleman would point out to me the period when Old Sarum was any other than it is now, when it was a prosperous and populous place, and when there were popular elections in it. I do not believe that can be pointed out to me; and several other boroughs that are now called rotten, have for the same period been precisely in the same state. My honorable friend who moved the resolutions has pointed to a speech made by Mr. Canning at Liverpool. Now there is another

speech of Mr. Caning's; to which I beg to refer you, made in the House of Commons on the motion of Lord John Russell for reform. He there stated that as long ago as the end of the 16th century, the Earl of Essex, not only nominated both the members for the county of Stafford, but wrote to the High Sheriff to return the members in every other single borough in that county. The same fact is stated concerning both the county of Norfolk and the borough of Malden, by the Duchess of Norfolk; and I shall cite a few other instances to the same effect. It was shown to you that the state of things now existing, be it bad or good, has been part of the practice of the constitution for many hundred years. I find that Gatton, which is now a rotten borough, was made a borough by Henry VI. in the 29th year of his reign; and so soon as the time of Henry VIII. there was only one inhabitant in that borough: it was in precisely the same state as at present.—(Here considerable disapprobation was expressed by the meeting)—I am perfectly aware that the circumstances I am relating must appear tedious; but as I contend that in point of fact my honorable Friend is wrong, I am bound to prove it by fact. I will go to another borough in the Isle of Wight, Newton; in the first of Elizabeth, the members for this borough were nominated by the Steward of the Lord of the barony of Newton. (Mr. Wortley's voice was here drowned by loud and continued expressions of disapprobation. Mr. Willan, of Dewsbury, now mounted the rail of the hustings, and moved his white hat to procure silence, but the tumult was rather increased than diminished by his presence, and he therefore withdrew. Soon after silence was obtained, and Mr. Wortley proceeded]—

"I will not attempt to tire you any longer by these tedious recitals of fact, but I challenge my honorable Friend, at any time and in any place, to the proof that the constitution of this country has been different for the last four hundred years, as to the influence of the aristocracy and the Crown in the House of Commons.

In what I have further to say, then, I shall take for granted, as far as my argument goes, and for the sake of argument, that I am right in this position.—(Laughter)—That being the case, I will now put to you a few questions; I ask if this Government, as it has been carried on—(I am not speaking of a party Government)—if the Government of England, such as I have stated it, has not secured to the people a great number of blessings? I would next beg leave to refer, Gentlemen, to the speech of Lord John Russell, when he moved his resolutions in the last Session of Parliament, in reference to that period to which we all look up as the brightest in our annals—the Revolution of 1688, and the abdication of James II. Undoubtedly there never was a period in the history of any country in the world in which the persons engaged in a great political transaction so decidedly covered themselves with the brightest of all glories—that of having saved their country. At that time our liberties were fixed, and I find it stated in the Edinburgh Review, that this was the era in which the reign of infi nce and of practical liberty began. Look, then, upon the avowal of Lord John Russell, that if we had then had a reformed House of Commons, that event would probably never have been brought to pass;

because the influence of certain individuals in the House of Commons made that House act contrary to the sense of the people.

I do not mean to say that generally a representative body is to speak a language different from that of the country. On the contrary I contend, that the House of Commons does actually speak the sense of the people (hear, hear, and laughter) This is entirely a matter of opinion, but I must beg leave to bring to the recollection of this assembly some particular instances in which the House of Commons did strictly speak the language, the opinions, and the feelings of the generality of the people. What, in point of fact, have been the two great occasions of the immense load of debt now laid upon the country? The one was the American war, the other was the war commencing in 1792. First, with respect to the American war; I must confess that I, for one am utterly astonished that a country like this should have such difficulties brought upon it by so gross an act of impolicy; it is to me quite incomprehensible, that this country should not have had more wisdom than to act as it did on that occasion. But I put it to any body who has read the history of those days, whether that war was not eminently popular? There is a celebrated speech of Mr. Burke's, on the loss of his election at Bristol, which shows him to have been unpopular in that city on account of his having been opposed to the American war. I have a right then to assert, that that war in the beginning of it was a popular war; and to a certain extent, if we are loaded with debt by that war, the blame is not to be laid altogether upon the House of Commons.

But it is asserted, that before that war was concluded, it did become unpopular, and that it was carried on longer than it would have been, if the opinions of the people had been consulted. I am quite ready to admit that—(hear, hear,) but at the same time I say, that, once engaged in war, it is not for persons who are not directing the war, and who have not quite in view all the circumstances of the case, to say what is the best mode and time of concluding it. I wish that the people of England would on all future occasions consider for a moment before they enter upon war, the difficulty of putting an end to it; and, when they have entered upon it, whether we may not by hastening the conclusion of war, do more injury than good to the interests of the country. There is no occasion on which I have not held the same language, and I am ready to hold it again if my honorable friends think it likely that we shall be drawn, either by the wishes of the government or the people, into the present differences among the powers of the Continent.

I look with as much horror as they can do, and I have expressed the same sentiment in my place in the House of Commons, upon the opinions put forth by the Sovereigns at Verona. (Cries of hear! hear!) I have as great an abhorrence of the language of their Circular as any one can have—(hear, hear,) I am anxious to preserve the liberties of my own country, and perfectly abhor their doctrine of interference, (Bravo!) Having said thus much on the American war, I now refer to the French war. The greatest number of us can remember the commencement of that war, and I think no man on earth can doubt that a vast majority of the people of this country went along with the government at that

time in wishing for a war with France, — (No. No.) We have upon this subject an authority which a great number of you will admit, without hesitation—that of Mr. Fox. He more than once declared, that he had become unpopular by opposing that war. Again, when the war was renewed in 1803, no man can doubt that it was popular. My honorable friend himself at that time excited and aroused our feelings against the enemy. (Hear, hear, from Mr. Fawkes.) I am therefore entitled to assert that that war was undertaken with the consent of the people. I say then that on these great occasions, which in point of fact are the great cause of the burdens which are laid upon you, the House of Commons did act with the people, although it is contended that they do not represent the people. But again I ask, has the House of Commons done nothing for the country? (A voice from the crowd exclaimed, "Yes, passed Six Acts.") Have we no institutions in this country, which have been fostered and cherished by that House? Are we not in possession of personal liberty? Have we not an administration of laws, which is not only pure, but unsuspected? Do we not stand almost a beacon among the nations of the world?—(Yes, of debt, cried a voice from the crowd.) Am I not addressing a people one of the greatest that ever existed on the face of the earth? Let the House of Commons be constituted as it may, I put it to you, whether the people are not in fact well governed. When my honorable friends talk of reform, I have a right to point them to the past history of the country. I do not believe that they will deny that the government has some merits; that we have at least an assembly, in which there is no proposition whatever, but would meet with persons ready to bring it forward and argue it. There never was in any country such an arena for political discussion, in which so much ability has been displayed, as in the House of Commons. That at least— [Here Mr. Wortley was interrupted by manifestations of impatience and disapprobation, which did not subside till the High Sheriff entreated the assembly, if they attached any value to free discussion, to listen to Mr. Wortley.] There are many persons in this country, continued Mr. Wortley, and I declare myself to be one of the number, who are of opinion, that great advantages have accrued to the people from the present system, and we have a right to ask, what change is proposed in it? We cannot be asked to join in a declaration, that the House of Commons is unfit to govern this country, when it has hitherto governed it advantageously? We have a right to ask, what kind of reformation it is to which we must give our consent. The real fact is, that my honorable friends cannot agree among themselves on any plan, although the present system appears to them so clearly to be bad. Are they prepared to say that all rotten boroughs ought to be suppressed?—(Loud hisses, and shouts of off, off!) Almost all those who propose a reform of the House of Commons would keep some portion of that influence against which they declaim. I must beg to say, that, however pure may be the intention of my honorable friends, I know that there are several persons in this country who have different motives. I do not attribute to them any opinions which they do not avow; but I say that

their objects are of such a nature, that if they are to be brought about by a reform of Parliament, such reform I will, to the last moment of my life, and to the last drop of my blood, resist. (Hisses.) Nay more, whenever those objects may be proposed, I will endeavour to draw upon them the opprobrium of public indignation. Nothing less has been proposed, as the effects of this reform, than national bankruptcy, and a breach of faith with the public creditor. (Here the hisses and vociferations of off, off! were renewed, and continued in spite of many efforts on his part to be heard. Mr. Wortley retired to the place which he had occupied before he began his speech, and put on his blue cloak, apparently in despair of being further heard. Lord Milton then appeared in front of the hustings, when the tumult immediately abated. Several persons then called upon Mr. Wortley to proceed, and in compliance with this call that gentleman threw off his cloak and resumed.)

Gentlemen,—Ever since I began my connexion with this county, I appeal to you all, whether, if I have an opinion on political subjects, I have ever for one moment withheld it from you. If I am an enemy to any of your opinions, I have always candidly avowed it. I do not ask of you to listen to me as a friend, but I think myself placed in a situation which entitles me to ask of you a hearing.—(Hear, hear; a voice from the hustings said "be brief.") I am told by some person to be brief; I will be as brief as I can, and I should have been much more brief if I had not met with interruption. But the misfortune is, that on an occasion of this sort I have a difficult part to play; I have a reluctant audience, and if that audience interrupt me, it must necessarily lead to great delay. There is nothing so very agreeable in the situation I occupy, (laughter) to induce me to detain you one single moment longer than is necessary. I was going to say, that I am not less to conjecture what the objects are for which several persons demand a Reform in Parliament, because they themselves publicly declare them. Their objects are totally unworthy, and would reflect the utmost disgrace upon the country; and, I repeat, that to the last hour of my life, and the last drop of my blood, I will oppose them.

"Gentlemen, I would say a word or two, before I sit down, on the subject of placemen in the House of Commons. It is true that we have, in the House of Commons, a body of eighty-nine placemen, but they have, in point of fact, been reduced of late years, as there were two hundred placemen in the House half a century ago. If a place bill had been introduced into the House of Commons, that would have been something definite, and I should have known the extent to which the plan of reform would go. But I cannot join my honorable friends in saying, that the House of Commons is such as ought not to exist. I am very far from contending that every thing in the election of members is correct. I think that great amendment may be made in the mode of electing members of Parliament; and I am more likely to join with my honorable friends, to a certain extent, for the attainment of this object, than they would find some other persons now listening to me. I never will consent to pass any resolutions crying down the House of Commons as unfit to take its share in carrying on the government, although I may consent to

some regulations—I will not call it reform, (laughter) because you would expect from me more than I mean to give. I do not say that there are no faults or blots in the mode of election; no human institution is free from imperfection; but I cannot hold up my hand for these resolutions. There is one point on which I will say a word or two. I must contend against my honorable friend, that the influence of the Crown is less in the House of Commons than it was half a century ago. (A voice from the crowd—"Mr. Wilberforce says that the influence of the Crown is too great.")—I have the greatest respect for Mr. Wilberforce, but I cannot take my opinions from him or any other man. The greatest source of the influence of the Crown has been cut off within my memory—I allude to that which arose from its direct revenue; that source has been entirely cut off, and it happens to me to know to a certainty that that has materially diminished the power of the Crown in the House of Commons. The public press has also very considerably diminished the influence of the Crown. Look back at the means of information which existed in this country thirty years ago—our fathers and grandfathers saw a newspaper once a week, but now, every individual in the village informs himself on all political matters. Is it possible to suppose that this has not great power in counteracting the influence of the Crown? The regular publication of the debates in the House of Commons has taken place within these thirty years; during the American war they were published by stealth.

But I will not detain you one moment longer; I have endeavoured to state the reasons why I cannot agree with my honorable friends in the resolutions; and I have endeavoured to do it with temper and respect for my audience. Whatever may be your resolutions, I have my own line of duty direct before me. I do think that the House of Commons is able to do its share in the government of this country, to the advantage of the people; I do think it possible that the three Estates should be completely and perfectly independent of each other; and, as the House of Commons possesses the greatest share in legislation, I think that the Crown should have some influence there.—(Much disapprobation.)

Lord Milton presented himself, and was received with great applause: he spoke as follows:—"Gentlemen, I am happy to have heard the speeches which have been addressed to you on this occasion and I am glad that you have listened to them, for it will be to the interest of us all to hear the speech of my honorable friend, and that of any other person, because our great object is truth, and the attainment of truth is impossible unless we have the means of balancing arguments on the one side against arguments on the other. For this reason I think you, as an impartial body, have done right in hearing my honorable colleague, and if I address you as favourers of the propositions that have been read, I think you have also done right, because from my colleague, with all his historical knowledge and acuteness of understanding, you have heard every thing that can be advanced on that side of the question. I have been a party in calling you together here because I think it most desirable that the opinions of the people of England should

be made plainly known on this most important of national questions. During many years—(it is now 16 years since I was first returned to serve you in Parliament)—during a large portion of this time I was a determined opposer of every thing like Parliamentary Reform. If there is any value in consistency, it is now my duty to explain to you the grounds on which my opinions on this subject have been changed. It is many years since I first began to doubt the correctness to my early opinions on Parliamentary Reform. I then imparted my doubts to those nearest to me, and in whose friendship and kindness I reposed perfect confidence; but I thought you, Gentlemen, the last of all others to be acquainted with them. If Cæsar's wife must not be suspected neither must the character of the representative for this county be suspected. I have not been biassed in my change of opinion by personal considerations. I must not be subservient to your opinions: if I am not subservient to the court, neither must I be subservient to you: if I should be subservient to you, you have no security against my subserviency elsewhere. (Hear, hear) Therefore although the last time you did me the honor to elect me your representative, the suspicious I had entertained were almost ripened into opinions, I did not suffer the slightest hint on this subject to escape me. The time is now come when I must give to you the grounds on which I have changed my opinion. In the first place then the transactions of the year 1817, the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act on pretences obtained by the meanest and most scandalous proceedings—(Hear, hear)—by sending spies amongst the people for the purpose of exciting them to tumult, then taking advantage of that tumult to raise tyrannical measures, and the success which those delusions had in the House of Commons, first induced in me the suspicion, that the inferior classes of the people at least were not those who could look for protection to the House of Commons. In 1819, when the country was trying the great experiment of returning to cash payments, the difficulties attending which measure the minister must have seen if he were fit to govern the country—the imposition at such a time, when the nation was crying aloud for reduction and retrenchment, of three millions of fresh taxes, increased the suspicions which had been previously raised in my mind. The memorable 16th of August, and every thing which grew out of it—the Six Acts, (Hear, hear) which converted the last year of his Majesty's reign, that ought to have been a year of jubilee, into one of indelible disgrace, and which have destroyed in many material parts the constitution of the country—the facility with which the House of Commons lent itself to those ministerial measures, by which personal liberty was restrained; by which (and the Act yet stands in the statute Book) magistrates have a right to search private dwellings for arms—the passing of these Acts, I say, confirmed my suspicions. Last of all, let me call your attention to those transactions, which more than any other in my recollection, and perhaps in the history of the country, excited the feelings of the people—the transactions relative to her late Majesty: I desire you will bear those in mind.—(Loud cries of hear, hear.) For, although the propositions against the Queen never were agitated specifically in the House of Commons, a

motion was made in the beginning of the year 1821, by Mr. John Smith, praying that the Crown would order her Majesty's name to be restored to the Liturgy. I ask, if that question had been entertained in this castle-yard, how many hands would have been held up against it? (None, none.) But what was the case in the House of Commons? Not the slightest impression was made, no persons voting for this motion except those who may be called the regular opponents of the present administration. Not a single individual—at least I shall be perfectly safe in saying, that not five individuals voted for this motion, who are not in the list of the regular opposition. These things show that the opinions of the people at large have not that influence in the House of Commons, which I say they ought to have. (Hear, hear.) I will not go the length of saying that every opinion which may be accidentally and for the moment entertained by the people at large ought to act upon the House of Commons, so as to be adopted by them implicitly. But when opinions are deliberately and universally entertained by the people—as in the case of the prosecution of her late Majesty—(I ask you if your opinion has undergone any change on that subject? and if not, it was not a hasty opinion)—when opinions, I say are so formed, they ought to have an influence upon the House of Commons. It seems to me, indeed, that a House of Commons on which the opinions of the people have no effect, is no House of Commons to any useful purpose. (Hear, hear.) I will read to you the opinions of one of the wisest men this country ever saw; but who did not enjoy during the latter part of his life that popularity which I think throughout his whole life he deserved:

"A vigilant and jealous eye over execratory and judicial magistracy; an anxious care of public money; an openness, approaching towards facility, to public complaint: those seem to be the true characteristics of a House of Commons. But an addressing House of Commons, and a petitioning nation; a House of Commons full of confidence, when the nation is plunged in despair; in the utmost harmony with ministers, whom the people regard with the utmost abhorrence; who vote thanks, when the public opinion calls upon them for impeachments: who are eager to grant, when the general voice demands account; who, in all disputes between the people and administration, presume against the people; who punish their disorders, but refuse even to inquire into the provocations to them; this is an unnatural, a monstrous state of things in this constitution. Such an assembly may be a great, wise, awful senate; but it is not to any popular purpose a House of Commons." Now then I ask, resumed his lordship, whether there is any one allegation which I have read to you, that may not be predicated of the House of Commons, you have now before you? I ask you, if they have had "a vigilant and jealous eye over execratory and judicial magistracy?" if they inquired into the conduct of the magistrates and yeomanry of Manchester! (No, No.) I ask, if they had "an anxious care over public money," when they voted the Duke of Clarence the arrears of an annuity which he had rejected? Have they had "an openness, approaching towards facility, to public complaint?" Did not they heap upon the state those infamous acts,

even after the pretences on which they were grounded had passed away? Have not they, "in all disputes between the people and administration, presumed against the people?" Have not they presumed that the people of Manchester must have been wrong, and the magistrates and yeomanry right? I ask if the House of Commons to which I sit does not answer to the description I have read to you? And again, I ask you, if that is not "an unnatural, a monstrous state of things in this constitution?" (Loud cries of hear, hear.)

Now, gentlemen, my hon. friend and colleague has asked—"Why do you not purpose certain specific plans?" I answer, that a meeting of this description, unaccustomed to deliberate, and not capable of entering into the details necessary for carrying any plan of reform into practice, is not a fit place for the proposal of plans. We say that things are not as they ought to be, and we refer it to an assembly, where the subject must be examined with great labour and patience, by persons capable of historical research and calm deliberation, to provide the remedy. All we want is, to impress upon that body (if any thing coming from the people can be impressed upon it) that this is a matter into which they ought to inquire. My hon. friend has asked again, if the three estates in the constitution must not necessarily act upon each other? Undoubtedly, they must. You might as well suppose of the different planets which travel round the sun, that each must not have some effect upon the other, as that the King, Lords, and Commons must not have a mutual influence. But there may be circumstances affecting one of these bodies, which it is necessary to enquire into, and to remedy.—Gentlemen, most extraordinary doctrines are held on this subject. It was said the other day, in the House of Commons, that the influence of the Crown was necessary to counteract the increasing intelligence of the people. When I hear this said by a minister of the crown, and by a man as amiable and honest as any that exists (though I never agreed with him on a public question in my life)—the brother of my Lord Grantham—it becomes me to look about, and see what will be the consequence of the country acting on principles like these. My hon. friend and colleague desires us to look at the influence of the press. But why? There are two sides of the press. (Bravo.) I ask my hon. friend, if he ever heard of a certain paper, called "John Bull." (Laughter.) A great many of the arguments which he has used are no arguments at all when you come to examine them, and especially this as to the press. Undoubtedly a great deal more information exists among the people now than there did half a century ago; but I ask why the influence of the publications on one side may not be as great as on the other? When one sees some of the papers which come from the especial patrons of social order—(laughter)—when I see the John Bull prying into the secrets of private families in order to maintain the purity of the press,—I cannot but have some suspicious, that if the gentlemen who use these arguments were to think soberly and impartially on the subject, they would be of the same opinion of which this meeting seems to be. (Hear, hear.)

Having stated to you, gentlemen, the reasons which have made me a convert to the cause of what is called

parliamentary reform, and observed on some of the statements of my hon. colleague, I proceed to notice others in which there is a great deal of historical truth. What he has told you with respect to the long existence of boroughs is undoubtedly true: and I must agree with him, that under the present system the country has on the whole enjoyed a great share of prosperity—an argument certainly very powerful on his side of the question. But when my hon. friend stated, that the Earl of Essex sent a mandate to the High Sheriff of Stafford, to return the members for that county, he ought to have shown that the reign of Elizabeth, in which the fact occurred, was one in which the country enjoyed a great portion of liberty. In that reign there was a great portion of external glory, but it ought to have been shown, to make the argument avail, that there was also a great share of liberty.

Gentlemen, if I have any advice to give on this occasion, I advise moderation. Great causes have seldom been carried by heat. In all our conduct as reformers, we should act upon the precept of scripture—"be wise as serpents, and harmless as doves." (Hear, hear.) We must have no gall mixed up with our zeal; we must have no eye to person—let no personal feeling enter into our minds. We must cast aside all prejudices, and have in view only such measures as will be advantageous to the public, and such as are capable of being carried into execution without difficulty, without danger, and without confusion:—without difficulty, because we ought always to proportion our efforts to our means; without danger, because, if there is something bad in the constitution, I agree with my honorable friend that there is much good, and we ought not to hazard the latter in our attempts to amend the former; without confusion, because that is of all things the worst. Confusion is bad in itself, but it is worse because it invariably leads to tyranny: a state of anarchy always ends in tyranny. We have seen this in our own times, and in all ages. In the middle of the 17th century, when the remains of the Long Parliament, usurping the functions of the whole, threw the country into confusion by their violent measures, this confusion was succeeded by the predominance of the army and of Oliver Cromwell. We have seen the same thing within our own day in another country; and, depend upon it, if the same experiment were to be repeated here, it would be attended with the same result. For these reasons, gentlemen, I recommend that you should temper your zeal with moderation, that you should not aim at what it is beyond your means to attain. Whatever is in my power, I undoubtedly shall do; and, in the present state of the country, I do believe that a reform in parliament is the only measure which can prevent the establishment of a government something like arbitrary. Indeed, it is not possible to establish a tyranny more odious, and at the same time more safe to the tyrant, than when the forms of a free constitution become the instruments of despotic power; (Hear, hear!)—because tyranny of such a description has nothing in it which excites a people to resistance. In a tyranny carried on under the form of liberty, there cannot be entertained even that sort of desponding hope (if I may use the term), that the nation will rise and destroy it.

For those reasons, then, gentlemen, which I have stated, I have become a convert to Parliamentary Reform. For that other reason which I have urged, I am for pursuing our object with the greatest moderation, but not without equal zeal. (Hear, hear.) I have now nothing further to say, gentlemen, than to thank you for the great indulgence with which you have listened to me. (Great applause.)

Marmaduke Wyvill, Esq. M. P.—"I should not on almost any other occasion have come forward, after the powerful arguments which have been so eloquently urged in support of the resolutions which have been offered to your consideration; but I owe it to consistency to the opinions I have ever maintained on this most important subject, to offer a few observations upon it.—The Hon. Gentleman who preceded the Noble Lord who has just spoken, contends before you, that because abuses has existed in the House of Commons for 400 years, that they have ceased to be usurpations, and in fact ought not to be removed. But I think it is much more reasonable to draw a very different inference from these premises. The long continuance of the evil seems to me to furnish a powerful additional reason for removing it. But though the Hon. Member admits and justifies on the ground of long usage, the existence of a foreign influence in the very construction of the House of Commons, he still contends that upon all great occasions, that House, as at present constituted, speaks the sense of the people. It were easy to disprove this assertion by an appeal to numerous facts, but it will be only necessary to remind you of the facility with which the House of Commons passed the Habeas Corpus Suspension Bills upon the most futile pretences, and to the proceedings relative to her late Majesty, which were at direct variance and in open opposition to the universally and loudly expressed opinions and feelings of the people. This marked discrepancy in opinion between the House of Commons and those who ought to be their constituents, can be referred to no cause but that of a corrupt and overwhelming influence, of which the safety and prosperity of the country requires the extirpation.—Gentlemen,—The honorable Member has urged as a proof of his assertion, that the House of Commons speaks the sentiments of the people, that the American war was popular in its origin; let us see what the object of that war was, and what were the causes which produced it. It was a wicked and barefaced attempt to enforce taxation without representation. Such was the American war, and yet we are to be told that it was in accordance with the popular feeling. And as to the war with France in 1803, to which the honorable Member has also referred, in support of his propositions, I have no hesitation in asserting, that it was undertaken to prevent a reform, similar to that you are now seeking. It was the strenuous exertions made by the friends of the people to effect this great object, which induced the Ministry of that day to plunge the nation into that most sanguinary and ruinous war. So much for the argument drawn by the Hon. Member, from the popular character of these wars. It has been said that if you remove the rotten Boroughs you will have no men of talent to represent you, and that you will drive all men of ability out of the House of

Commons. But is this a base and groundless aspersion upon the people of England, who, I am sure, have both the virtue to prefer, and the ability to select men of talent and of integrity to protect their rights, and take care of their interests in Parliament. But it is further contended, that reform at present is unnecessary, because sooth, the influence of the Crown is diminished. In reply to this assertion, I oppose the following plain facts:—In the year 1793 the whole sum raised by taxes was 17 millions; the poor rate was about 2 millions. In the year 1821 this country paid in taxes 60 millions; and the amount of the poor rate was then raised to 7 millions. Now I think that no person who considers the effect which taxation has upon the patronage of the Crown, can, for a moment doubt, whether that influence has not been greatly increased. Gentlemen, —I will not occupy more of your time; I will only in conclusion say, that if any person should demand of me to what extent I would go in reducing this influence, my answer is—until the whole of its corrupting influence is completely eradicated.—(Loud and continued cheers.)

R. M. Beverley, (of Beverley,) Esq. in a maiden speech, which was listened to with profound attention, and received with the warmest expressions of public approbation, said that he had determined not to take a part in this day's discussion, and nothing could have made him alter that determination but the extraordinary arguments that had been brought forward by the hon. member for Yorkshire (Mr. Wortley), which, from their peculiar weakness had encouraged him, incompetent as he was to enter the lists against him. If any thing could have strengthened him in the determination of silence he had previously made, it was hearing the splendid and magnificent eloquence of the hon. mover of the address, for it ill became him to be harnessed in the car of reform with so stately and proud a steed as the ungovernable rhetoric of Mr. Fawkes:—

“That mighty courser of ethereal race

“With neck in thunder clothed, and long-resounding  
pace.”

But when he had observed that the noble lord had omitted answering some of the arguments of the hon. member for Yorkshire, he could not resist the temptation he felt of himself answering that hon. speaker, serially, and following him step by step through the bog of corruption, at last come to the firm ground on which he rested his own principles.—(Loud cheers.) And he felt confident that even his weak hand and feeble breath could throw down the tinsel fabric that hon. speaker had reared.

The hon. gentleman had founded his arguments mainly on the antiquity of the abuses, and seemed to plume himself prodigiously, that they were as ancient as the time of Henry VIII.; but if the antiquity of the thing were an argument in its favour, he (Mr. B.) had a much better weapon supplied to him by that very argument; for he could go so far back as the time of William the Conqueror—he could go back near a thousand years, and remind the hon. gentleman that when William of Normandy demanded the kingdom of the lawful monarch, Harold, and founded his demand on an old will that nobody knew any thing about—Harold returned answer, that if such a will was genuine, it was utterly

illegal, because it had been “absque generali senatus et populi Anglie consensu.”—“without the general consent of the people and parliament of England”—(hear, hear,) a clear proof that the consent of the people and the parliament united were considered essential in those days; though in these days such an opinion is unfortunately not much in vogue; and it would take up too much time to wade through all the tyrannies of English history to prove how that right had been lost in the halcyon days of liberty and happiness under Henry VIII. This appeared a miserably inauspicious era on which to found the origin of the present perfect system of corruption. Henry VIII. was by most people considered one of the most execrable and merciless tyrants that had ever sat on the throne of any country under Heaven, that tyrant who had killed two Queens and broken another Queen's heart; for whatever the hon. member for Yorkshire might think of this founder of the blessings of corruption, he (Mr. Beverley) could never think that the freeholders of the county of York, were too fond of any King that had broken any Queen's heart.—(Loud cheers, and cries of “No, no.”)

But this argument, drawn from the antiquity of abuses, might have been used, and indeed always has been used against every reform, and every alteration of abuses, however gross, profligate, and abominable. This was the argument that was used against Christianity, and this would be the argument used against that first and best of all reformers—the founder of the Christian religion; if he now were to appear amongst us, for the first time in the kingdom of England, and to preach those unpalatable doctrines of radical reform, in which all present professed to believe; and if it could be supposed, that the House of Commons were all Pagans instead of Christians, there is very little doubt but that the Gospel, if now produced for the first time within the walls of St. Stephen's, would be voted false, scandalous, and seditious.—(Laughter.) It should not be forgotten that there never was a greater reformer than Christ—the poor man's friend, the advocate of universal liberty, the enemy and the opposer of aristocratical pride, profligacy, and corruption.—(Hear, hear.)

The hon. gentleman had talked a great deal about the blessings we had enjoyed of late years under the present system; but it would seem that different people had wonderfully different opinions of the meaning of a blessing, he (Mr. B.) could not rank the six acts and the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act, and all the minor afflictions and mean oppressions of the ministry, amongst blessings; he never could reckon that celebrated lawgiver, the late Marquis of Londonderry, as a blessing, nor could he consent to enrol amongst the kind dispensation of providence, that other wonderful patriot and prodigious statesman, lately dropped down from Heaven, into the shoes of the Marquis of Londonderry, he means Mr. Canning. So that what some people thought blessings, others, by a misnomer, perhaps, would call curses.—(Loud cheers and laughter.)

The hon. gentleman had stated on some writer's authority, that if the House of Commons had been reformed and had expressed the wish of the people at the time of the revolution, that glorious event never would have taken place, as the mass of the people were deci-

dedly adverse to changing the lawful dynasty; that might be true; but it should never be forgotten for an instant, that the cause of a revolution could never have occurred under a reformed House of Commons: (Hear, hear,) the tyrant James II. would never have dared to attempt to overthrow our laws and our religion, if awed by the voice of the people expressed in a pure parliament; and though the revolution would not have happened, that would have previously happened preferable to a thousand revolutions, namely a reform of the House of Commons, and for which we have been labouring and toiling ever since the revolution. (Applause.)

The same answer would apply to that more specious and more hackneyed argument, used by the hon. gent. "that we cannot in justice accuse the House of Commons of burthening the country with the increase of the national debt, when that increase was caused by the American and French wars, that were so eminently and notoriously popular; for we should endeavour to speculate how the proposal for war would have been received in a really reformed House; there might have been great enthusiasm and a great elatter about glory and all that specious nonsense, but a little cool reflection would have shown the real representatives of the people that they could not pay for their glory, and after a sufficient parade of threatening speeches, it is certain they would have sat down, preferring economy and safety, to extravagance, bankruptcy, and renown.—(Hear, hear)

There was one part of the hon. gentleman's speech which he would advert to with more satisfaction, or to speak more properly, with a hope of satisfaction, since the language in which the hon. gentleman had couched that part of his speech, had been involved in so much obscurity and mystery, that he did not feel himself entitled to speak with decision in its explanation, he alluded to that part of the hon. gentleman's speech in which he had talked of co-operating with the views of the reformers, if they only went so far as preventing all places from sitting in the House, and abolishing all unnecessary places—in which he had said, that he perhaps would join in urging a "Place Bill in the House," (here Mr. Wortley denied he had ever said or meant so, and after some desultory conversation, Mr. Beverley proceeded to say) "if the hon. member for Yorkshire speaks undecidedly on this subject, let us know his real views on this disputed point, for it is very difficult to get at his real intentions and wishes; and if he will propose a Place Bill in the House, then I think we shall feel satisfied in his conduct, and approve of one part of his political career at least."

But of his decided and unhesitating opinion of another subject we can have no doubt, since the hon. gentleman most plainly and distinctly stated, without any modification, that he did not think the power of the crown had increased of late years; it would not be necessary to bring more than one answer to this, when it was remembered that that very House of Commons itself, that purely modified, that perfectly constituted collection of senators gifted with all wisdom and all virtues, the praise and glory and envy of the universe, had itself declared, at the end of the American war, that the "Power of the Crown had increased, was increasing, and ought to be

diminished." What would the hon. gentleman say to this? Surely he would not set his opinion against that of the House of Commons, whose proper corruption and excellent system of bribery he so much admired? (Hear, hear.) If he did so, it was lamentable to see two such friends at variance—it was distressing to see a difference and a contention between the great fountain of truth and its chief apostle. (Loud applause and laughter.)

The hon. gentleman had further observed, that if the influence of the crown had increased, there might be set against it the force of popular sentiments, and the means of conveying those sentiments in the public newspapers; but what, in the name of truth, was a newspaper, or ten thousand newspapers, if the spirit of liberty was wanting? (Hear, hear.) The spirit of newspapers might possibly be the most glaring proof of slavery and despotism; in no country is a newspaper published with greater accuracy than in China; the Pekin Gazette comes out with great pomp and solemnity every day, and is read with avidity among the three hundred millions of that enormous empire, and yet in spite of this popular newspaper, there is not a more rascally, bare-faced, and intolerable despotism under the canopy of heaven, than the Government of China; for where the rights and liberties of mankind are wanting, the public voice is of no use, and the press and its blessings are then like rain on the sands. (Hear, hear.) In praise of the House of Commons, the Honorable Gentleman argued that it was a great arena of eloquence; but what was the eloquence of the parliament compared with the magnificent and eternal rhetoric of Cicero and Demosthenes? The eloquence of the English House of Commons could no more be compared with the great standards of Grecian and Roman oratory, than a farthing candle can with the sun; and for this plain and well-known reason, that where the voice of the people is not all powerful, eloquence can never go beyond a certain point, there can reign a false and specious sort of rhetoric; but so far and no farther, and till the wishes of the people are unrestrained, perfectly free and absolutely predominant, we can never expect to hear oratory farther advanced than its infancy, or perfectly beyond its rudiments. The Noble Lord, in answering his honorable colleague, had alluded, perhaps, somewhat too learnedly, to the course of the planets around the sun, and there was one planet whose motions he had said ought to be strictly watched, lest it should disturb the harmony of the system; without entering into astronomical explanations, it might be conjectured that this heavenly body was not one of the regular planets, but rather a violent and outrageous comet, flaming in eccentric orbits through the frightened realms of space, adding nothing to the beauty, but much to the terror of the system, and shaking from its horrid head pestilence and war. This was the body that ought to be watched; this was the dangerous cancer of corruption that jeopardized all it approached, and which ought only to be removed and annihilated, that the whole system might be perfect in its harmony, undeviating in its rules, and fearing nothing from too much attraction, or too much violence. (Loud cheers.)

Having thus discussed the principal positions of the honorable gentleman, there was one more argument that ought to be alluded to, because it appeared to have more

weight, than any that the honorable gentleman had brought forwards: It is not uncommon to hear it said, in answer to the cry for parliamentary reform, that our demand is plainly superfluous, for if we have any grievances, we have three means of redress; if your rights and liberties are invaded, say they, go to the courts of law, and you will be reinstated by the usual course of justice; but if that should fail, then appeal to the House of Commons; should a parliamentary application fail, the voice and unanimous cry of the people in your favour will bring you redress, and heal your wounds. Let it be answered to this, that except in the ordinary cases of meum et tuum the courts of law are assuspicious and objectionable places to expect to find equity in as any in the kingdom; for if it be some case of particular and extraordinary importance, such as the case of the Manchester plots or the Manchester murders, or whatever it is proper to call them, you must be out of your senses to hope to have justice done you by the lawyers; that sly race of mellifluous orators, who, having well emptied your purse, and exhausted your patience, lead you through a maze of error, disgust, and disappointment, and leave you to bewail your misfortune or to sink into despair; for with the lawyers and the judges, power has too much influence; and having talked so much of our sovereign lord the king, it is to be feared they are inclined to act for him also. (Cheers.) From the courts of law you hurry with a petition to the House of Commons, confident that the representatives of the people will listen to your prayer and be feelingly alive to your grievances; but there your petition is received with respect indeed, and having gone through some little mock solemnities, it is ordered to lie on the table, in the blessed hope of everlasting rest; or if more than usually importunate, it is voted a seditious performance, and sent out into the streets by a large majority. (Hear, hear.) As a last resource, you go with your melancholy story to the people, that high and enthusiastic, and generous people, the people of England, who give you their sympathy, their energies, and their good wishes: But what more can they do to help you?—For you are called seditious, and asked why you do not go to the proper place, the courts of law? Thus we are bandied about without hope or help, every one strikes us off with his racket, and tells us to go to somebody else; that other person begs we will go to the proper person; that proper person cannot be found for love or money; and thus having wasted all our energy to arrive at the fountain of justice, we are compelled to give up the pursuit, and become the victims of apathy and despair—"Your final, though distant hope then, said Mr. Beverley, is in a system not yet come; a system in which truth and justice will be strictly attended to, when your grievances will be listened to, when your rights will be cherished, and your prayers and petitions, your hopes and your wishes, no longer despised; and no longer insulted;—all which alone can come to pass in a thorough and radical reform of the House of Commons, of which I am proud to own myself a zealous though inadequate advocate." (Loud and reiterated plaudits.)

Mr. Wooler immediately stepped forward and said; "Gentlemen, on presenting myself for the first time to the freeholders of Yorkshire, and on the discussion of

the most important question that can agitate the subjects of a free state, it would perhaps be necessary that I should offer some apology for the liberty I have taken; but, it is by the consideration that the voice of every freeman is requisite to swell the aggregate effect of public opinion, that I have been induced to offer myself to your notice, not merely on my own behalf, but on the behalf of numbers in this county, who have requested me to attend this meeting, and to bear testimony to their ardent devotion to the cause of Radical Reform. In this cause I should be as unwilling as any man to perceive the effects of union destroyed by any captious dispute about terms, provided that the great object of a Reform, commensurate with the evils to be redressed, is constantly kept in view. And though I am free to confess, that if I had drawn up the resolutions which have been read to you to-day, I should have employed other language, and had recourse to a more detailed view of the subject; there is nothing in the resolutions to which I can object, provided the terms used are permitted to bear their natural signification, and their unsophisticated meaning. They contain a plain declaration that the House of Commons as at present constituted, represents neither the wishes nor the interests of the people; and they demand a speedy and effectual reform, as the only remedy of which the evil admits. An effectual reform must be one that shall go to the root of the evil; and effectually eradicate even the germs of latent corruption—and this effectual reform is all that the most ardent Reformers require. With respect to the Constitution, of which we have heard so much to-day, I have, merely to observe, that I can find no traces of its existence at all, except in such public meetings as the present—(Hear, hear.) I was taught in my youth to revere it as something almost exceeding the perfection of mortal wisdom; but I have found it in more mature years, to be little more than a creature of fancy, an imaginary bird of paradise, said to have been seen here, and heard of there; but assuredly not existing in the sanctuaries which have been supposed to be its peculiar residence.—(hear.) Yes, in public assemblies some traces of its ancient lustre may be seen; and I trust it will be fostered there, until the latent flame revives in every bosom, and reanimates a drooping land. Poor, indeed, would be my estimation of that Constitution, if it were what the Gentleman on my right hand (Mr. Wortley) has depicted it. His argument that you should continue slaves, because you have been slaves for 400 years; and that the length of an usurpation sanctifies the tyranny, is something rather more candid than I should have expected at his hands. I admire candour above all things; but there is one remark in his observations which I think he will regret himself he has made, when he sees the inference to which it leads. He said, against certain modes of Parliamentary Reform he would contend to the last hour of his existence, and to the last drop of his blood. The first part of this declaration, is praise-worthy; for an honest man would constantly oppose what he deemed to be erroneous, with all the pertinacity of a steady adherence to the truth; but when he talks of opposing opinions to the last drop of his blood, he betrays that temper which disgraced the Inquisition of Spain, and

which has been the concomitant of despotism in all ages. Every man has the right (and its exercise is the criterion of his freedom) to promulgate his opinions, fearlessly and freely; but no man can have the right to suppress, or to promulgate opinion, by any species of compulsion. The Gentleman is, however, entitled to our thanks, for his exposition of the Constitution, since he has avowed he only values it for its defects; and that its abuses are sacred in his eyes because they have existed four hundred years—(loud applause.) To this it may be replied by a simile, which has been used before, but which is not the less valuable on that account. Suppose it were proposed to put a stop to murder or robbery, which might have been frequent at any given place, would it be any answer to show that the place had been the resort of robbers and murderers for a great length of time? Or, rather, would not the notoriety of the abuse, be the great reason why it should be suppressed, and its agents punished?—(hear, hear.) This Gentleman has led you to imagine, that if any instance of usurpation could be pointed out, he wou'd concede that it ought to be remedied. I will give him one—the first legislative encroachment upon the rights of the people, with which I am acquainted, namely: the statue of Henry VIIth, disfranchising all freeholders under a certain annual amount, because it was apprehended, as stated in the preamble to the bill, that their attendance at elections might be inconvenient. This was a gross act of arbitrary power, for which the Monarch ought to have forfeited his head, and the Legislature to have been banished from the possibility of doing further mischief—(Loud and long cheering.) That there have been since equally gross encroachments on the liberties of the people is equally notorious, but that they form any ground for the defence of corruption, is a ridiculous and a contemptible fallacy—(Cheers.) The Gentleman on my right hand (Mr. Wortley) seems to think this the age of blessings; and, amongst other topics of congratulation, he appealed to the liberty of the press, as a proof of the existence of something like liberty in this country. But he should have added, that if the press is free, it is free, not by the permission of the faction which governs the country, but in despite of it. He should have added, that the courage and perseverance of the independent part of the press, had enabled it to triumph over laws that were intended to bind it in eternal fetters; and that it is not by legislative enactments, but from a determination to do its duty in contempt of them, that the press remains free—(Long and continued applause.)

The hon. gentleman stated that the age of practical liberty and parliamentary influence began together. They did so. But we shall find an inquiry into the reason, and the facts, to be but little favorable to the principle of parliamentary influence. What are the facts? It was discovered that an open tyranny could not prevail in England; that when the sword of bare-faced despotism was drawn against the rights of freemen, a thousand and ten thousand swords were ready to leap from their scabbards to defend them. And when the era of practical liberty began, the principle of parliamentary influence was devised to undermine the growing liberties which it had been found unsafe openly to

attack. The battlement of the fortress, which could not be taken by storm, were assailed by this influence; and what had resisted all the force of open despotism fell before the more wily snares of this parliamentary interest, which Mr. Wortley contends ought to exist, because it has existed, and to be perpetuated, because it has been introduced—(Cheers.) Against this absurdity I protest; and say, that if it should be persisted in, until the people are reduced to the necessity of vindicating their own rights, the fault will not be with those who have been continually warning them not to venture too far, but with those who have provoked public patience beyond endurance.—(Applause.) For the country, in such a crisis, there is nothing to fear. Neither its inhabitants will be swept away, nor its soil be destroyed; but those who have been the instruments of producing the public mischief, will be the sufferers; and to them will justly be referred the responsibility of hazarding public rights, to secure private emoluments. The reformers have been accused of disloyalty; but those who are aware of certain notorious facts, will be compelled to admit that the faction which misgoverns the country has bound both the king and people in one common thraldom; and that the reformers have been only anxious to break the fetters which disgrace them both. Those who want facts may have this striking one, that the ministry has, within the last few months, plucked the brightest jewel from the prerogative, in forcing the admission of Mr. Canning into the cabinet, as a minister of the king, in contempt of the royal antipathy to such a measure. And here let me incidentally remark, that the assertion of the honorable gentleman, that the honorable house of which he is an honorable member, has generally been in unison with the wishes and interests of the public, is just as true as that his sentiments are in unison with the almost unanimous feeling of this meeting against them. And let me add, that a claim from him for a specific plan of reform was at best but an idle quibble, since we want no one to inform us that no sort of reform would suit him, and that his objection to every species of reform would be the same, namely, that he did not like it. But we are much too far advanced in our determination that reform is essential to the salvation of the country, to care for such trifling as this.

When the time arrives that the question of what reform shall be necessary, shall be fairly agitated, if I have any voice, I, for one, shall have no hesitation in declaring, that when it can be pointed out to me that God has stamped the exclusive mark of slave on the forehead of one man, I will admit that he is not entitled to the exercise of the elective franchise; but until that shall be the case, I will not allow the right of any boroughmonger to place his cloven foot upon the breast of any freeman, and mark him for exclusion from the common right of the species to which he belongs. I have before said, that I would not have couched the resolutions of this day in the terms in which they have been submitted to you; that although I should have deemed it necessary to have embodied a distinct recital of the evils we have suffered, and the specific measures which would have afforded us the requisite relief, though it might have required all the parchment in the

country to have engrossed the sum total of our complaints; yet, under all the circumstances of the case, and being disposed to give full credit to the declarations of those who are converts to the justice of our cause, I cannot avoid recommending that union, which, if it can be obtained upon principle, is essential to the progress of the cause of reform, I cannot but recommend an adoption of the present resolutions; convinced that if the gentry of the county who surrounded me in such great numbers, will but give full effect to their spirit, by a corresponding energy of mind, the benefits of the meeting of this day will be remembered and felt, long after every individual here present lies mouldering in the tomb.—(Plaudits.)

Mr. Wortley explained. I wish to reply to one thing that has been said by the last speaker. He says he approves of my stating that I was ready to contend against the propositions to which I alluded "to the last moment of my life," but objects to the expression "to the last drop of my blood." When I spoke of those resolutions, I meant propositions which would reduce the country to a state of bankruptcy, and would occasion a breach of faith with the national creditor. Such resolutions, I believe, could not be carried into effect without a revolution. I entreat the people to remember, that every revolution, every thing of that kind most dreadful, has always been brought about by acts of national bankruptcy. I will therefore resist, so long as I have power, any attempt to throw the country into that state.

The resolutions were then read and put separately to the meeting, by the sheriff, when all of them passed unanimously, except two or three, against which Mr. Wortley and Mr. Fountain Wilson held up their hands. We noticed that Mr. Wortley did not hold up his hand against the 4th resolution.

Sir F. Liokey Wood.—"I am to move a petition founded upon the resolutions which you have passed with almost an unexampled unanimity: before I make any observation upon it, I will read it throughout.

[Here the honorable baronet read the petition]

Sir F. Linley Wood then resuming his speech, said, I shall only make one observation on the argument used by my honorable friend, the member for the county, against reform—a friend with whom I have differed on no subject but that on politics, but on that subject we have differed so uniformly and long that I despair of ever agreeing with him. However plausible the argument of my honorable friend drawn from ancient records may appear, it labours under one, and that a fatal objection; it proves too much and is of course good for nothing. (Hear, hear.) His argument is that the House of Commons has always been under undue influence. If this be the fact it would only prove the inveteracy of the evil, and the consequent greater necessity of reform. (Hear, hear.) Gentlemen, I trust we shall not be degraded by any of those dissensions and interministerial resolutions, which have been adopted at a public meeting elsewhere; that being all suited in the great question of reform, we shall not suffer minor differences as to any specific plan of reform, to interrupt or endanger our unanimity. I am rejoiced to find that a freeholder who has just addressed you, and who has travelled 200 miles to attend this meeting, has sacrificed some objections

which he had to the wording of the petition to this great object. I am glad also that the word physical force, which sometimes creeps into discussions of this kind, has never been used. It is a term which ought never to be used in reference to this subject. The only force we can use is the moral force of public opinion, and which I have no doubt will ultimately subdue every prejudice, and triumph over every opposition. (Hear, hear.) Mr. Burke has said that the desires of the people of England ought to be a law to the House of Commons. I would ask my honorable friend, whether we are to go back 300 or 400 years in civilization—whether we are not to profit by the discoveries of science, and the greatest degree of illumination which has broken in upon the present age, and not to be governed by what was done 2 or 3 centuries ago? The British Constitution is not a picture to be hung up to be mellowed by time, but an edifice to be repaired from time to time, repaired, enlarged, and improved, and made comfortable to the existing generation who are to inhabit it. (Hear, hear.) Gentlemen, I will conclude with stating that the petition which I have read has in all essentials my entire concurrence, and I move that it be adopted by this meeting.

Mr. Strickland rose to second the petition, and said, "However anxious I may have been to express my opinions upon the great cause upon which we are assembled, I should think it quite unreasonable to detain the meeting for any considerable time, after the long, the patient, and the anxious attention which has already been given to the business of the day. (Cries of go on, we will hear you all night.) In the very few observations which I shall make, I beg leave to direct your attention to that in which has consisted the principal difference of opinion; to that in which the only fear seems to have existed of any interruption to the most perfect harmony and agreement; I mean to the question whether the resolutions should contain only general expression of the necessity of a reform of the Commons House of Parliament, or should describe more minutely in what such reformation ought to consist. Gentlemen, this great cause is not a new one; it has agitated men's minds for nearly a century, and we are not now to be asked, what is meant by the term Parliamentary Reform?—its meaning is written in the distresses of the country, in characters so clear and so distinct, that they who can read. (Hear, hear.) There is one observation I would make, so peculiarly marking out the necessity of an improvement being effected in the state of the representation—that so strongly is the public mind impressed with a belief of its decay and imperfection, that we are now presented with this strange anomaly, that before a division of the House of Commons is considered by the people as expressing the opinion even of that assembly itself, much less through that assembly, of the public at large, it is becoming a custom to strike out from every ministerial majority 80 or 100 votes, as being dead votes, under an unconstitutional influence, and therefore deprived of their deliberative character. (Hear, hear.)

As I have already said, it is not now necessary for us to inquire minutely into the extent to which a reform of the representation ought to be demanded; we may safely leave such discussions to the Houses of Parliament themselves, and if they do not meet our expecta-

tions, to those future County Meetings which, in the exercise of our ancient, our undoubted, and constitutional rights, I trust we shall frequently hold in this place—(Cheers.) Many persons, and those whose names bear with them high authority, viewing the rapid progress which corruption and extravagance have made in the affairs of the state; arguing likewise from the well known and tremendous consequences to which such things have invariably led in other countries, have imagined that they see only, in the future increased separation between the government and the people, convulsions and revolution. For such an opinion I need not quote the well known expression of the great Lord Chatham, as to what may be apprehended from a refusal of a timely reformation. A living writer has said, that he considers such a revolution to be inevitable, “That ministers may exult over the suppression of petty tumults, these are but the receding waves broken and repulsed against the shore, while the great tide is still rolling on and gaining ground with every breaker.” Gentlemen, let me not be mistaken: I state this opinion not as coinciding in it, but under the hopes of refuting it. Could I, indeed, for one moment believe, that extravagance, profusion, and misrule could continue their progress, with gigantic strides, unchecked and uncontrolled by the public voice: could I believe that that corrupt influence, which, in the words of Mr. Wilberforce, “meets every man every where,” would go on undiminished, then, indeed, I should join and coincide in the most gloomy anticipations. But I rest my opinion upon the well known character and energy of the people of England; I rest it upon their increased intelligence, upon the history of my country. For the greatest part of the last 30 years we have been engaged in never ceasing, arduous foreign warfare; we have had no breathing time, no opportunity of looking into our internal situation; but the time has now indeed come when every man learns, and knows, and feels the embarrassments which surround him; and in that very British valour which has fought the battles of Europe, and been victorious, I see grounds for hope and confidence—I read better times for England. For the secret of those victories is told in few words—in slavery is cowardice; freemen only are brave. In these events, then, I see fresh proofs of that determined love of freedom, which has long been the boast, the happiness, and the glory of this country; and a sure earnest that we shall never submit, in indolence and in apathy, to have our properties wrested from us, and exhausted to unlimited boundless taxation; or our liberties trampled to the ground by an overwhelming corrupt influence. (Hear, hear, hear.) No, Gentlemen, I believe the time is not far distant, when the people of England will be prepared to present universal petitions to the Crown and to the Houses of Parliament, expressed in terms so temperate, but at the same time so firm and so determined, that the House of Commons itself will not be inclined to turn a deaf ear to our prayers. And when the desired reformation shall have taken place, confidence will be restored between the people and the government; and, as all government is founded in opinion, the king will be seated more securely upon his throne, and the British Constitution will be handed

down to future ages, as it long has been, the best example of liberty to the whole world.” Mr. Strickland concluded by seconding the petition.

Mr. Baines said, “Mr. High Sheriff, I wish to address to you one or two observations, arising out of the proceedings of the day. I have witnessed with great admiration the independant conduct of both our representatives, but I wish particularly to remark on the conduct of that Honorable Gentleman who has been opposite to us, and to draw one inference from the situation in which he stands. I do not say that the County of York is now assembled in this place, but you, Sir, have invited the County to assemble here; and what is our situation? From the place where I stand, I saw only one hand held up against the resolutions, and that was the hand of an Hon. Gentleman who claims to be our representative in Parliament! This fact ought to be a lesson to the Honorable Member—(hear, hear.) In what esteem should he hold the opinions of those who absent themselves when a vitally important question like this is to be decided upon by the country? Are the sentiments of those persons worth representing? The state of desertion in which the Hon Gentleman stands before his constituents, ought to set him a thinking, and if he gives a due scope to the operations of his own candid mind, I am not without hopes that when we next assemble in this place, we shall have the happiness to have two representatives converts to the cause of Parliamentary Reform—(Laughter.) I had no fear that the Tories would assemble this day and not vote us; their patriotism is not of that glowing kind which fortifies against the inclemency of the weather. Some persons wish to go “to Heaven in silver slippers;” and the anti-reformers are in politics, what those persons are in religion. It is not hence to be inferred, that Toryism is dead; it will never die while we have taxes to collect, and to dispense to the amount of 60 millions a-year. The genius of Toryism is, however, in a languid state in this country, and if the High Sheriff should have occasion to report where it is this day, he may in the words of some of his own writs safely write—“non est inventus.”—(Loud Laughter.) Mr. Baines then paid a tribute to the manly conduct of Mr. Wortley, which appeared so striking in contrast with that of his friends, and proceeded to express the satisfaction which he felt in seeing so many freeholders assembled, who had come from various and distant parts of the country, in spite of the severity of the season, to perform a great public duty. He concluded with the following remarks:—We have before us to day a noble spectacle—a great assembly, sacrificing their small casts of opinion and uniting in one general call, for the measure of Parliamentary Reform. They have not, like some foolish persons in other places, divided themselves into factions, and thereby injured the cause they professed to serve. Let the celebrated maxim be remembered—“Union is strength, and then success is certain. One freeholder, who has travelled far to attend the meeting, and from whom some opposition was apprehended, has nobly sacrificed minor differences to the public good. His example is worthy of general imitation. Unanimity and perseverance are alone necessary to secure success; of this truth, we seem all convinced, and I feel assured

that the day of final triumph is not far distant.—(hear, hear.)

The petition was now read by the Under Sheriff, and carried with the same unanimity as the resolutions.

F. Cholmeley, Esq. now, in a short address to the meeting, proposed the 8th, 9th, and 10th resolutions; which were immediately seconded and adopted.

The business of the meeting being thus brought to a conclusion, Lord Milton, (amidst loud cheers,) proposed a vote of thanks to the High Sheriff, for his readiness in calling the meeting, and for his dignified and impartial conduct in the chair. The motion was seconded by Mr. Wortley, who, with very good humour, remarked that, although he had previously met with a little opposition from the meeting, yet he hoped that in support of the last motion of his honorable friend and colleague, they would all be of one mind! (Laughter and cheers.) The vote was then carried with great applause.

The High Sheriff returned thanks. He remarked that whilst he felt that he had done no more than his duty, he could not refrain from observing, that no meeting could possibly have conducted itself in a more orderly, peaceable, or dignified manner, than that over which he had now presided.

*To Walter Fawkes, Esq. Farnley Hall.*

Netherton Hall, near Wakefield, Yorkshire,  
3d March, 1823.

Most Excellent Sir,

The nations thanks and praise are due unto the reform meeting held at York, on Wednesday the 22d of January, 1823, and every voice should offer its thanks and praise.

The writer is a humble individual, who was a member of the Reform Association held at York, when the Rev. Christopher Wyvill was chairman; and has, from that period, zealously, uniformly, but moderately endeavoured to promote that universal and heavenly cause of religion, charity, and humanity; the cause of all mankind and all the world.

He can no longer resist the impulse of expressing his joy, that the present time hath produced so many bright luminaries of wisdom and prudence, overjoyed in the hope that their wisdom and prudence will correct the attention, and gain the ear of the whole empire and the whole world; and he has the happiness of knowing many are already converted thereby.

You, Sir, have the first claim to our thanks and praise, as the author and leader of the great work of the auspicious day. Long may you live, and happy may you be, to enjoy the fruits of your honest, faithful and truly patriotic labour.

It is the cause of every one, and every thinking man must be converted by the wisdom and prudence of this great and respectable county.

The World and Great Britain may rejoice that she is not only become the protector of her own liberties, but

those of all the world, by her unanimity in declaring she will unite in resisting the tyrants, the enemies of liberty and the rights of mankind.

I do thank you and rejoice with you; allow me to rejoice with you, my country, and all the world, at these very important and auspicious proceedings.

I have the honor to be, most respectfully,

Sir,

Your most obedient and obliged humble Servant,  
RICHARD MILNES.



RICHARD MILNES read a speech of Sir ROBERT WILSON's to his constituents in the borough, which pleased him so much, that he wrote him a letter of thanks for his very excellent speech, and sent him his second above-mentioned letter to the nobility, &c. and the following is Sir Robert's answer, which R. Milnes has published, to prove to the world in addition to what they know of him, that he is one of the most amiable of men.

R. M. did not know the least of Sir Robert till he wrote him the above-mentioned letter of thanks.

DEAR SIR,

I feel very much flattered by the expressions of your approbation. The language of your address to those who should act as the guardians of the public liberty and welfare, proves the possession of a benevolent patriotism and philanthropy, which justifies the sentiments of pride that your commendation has excited. I trust that my actions through life will correspond with those opinions which are in unison with your own, and that I shall always make the happiness of mankind the steady object of my humble though zealous efforts. If the more fortunate classes of society will but adopt the wise council you have so feelingly and therefore so eloquently expressed, the enemies of our political and social system will indeed be driven away "as chaff before the wind," and the impending hurricanes will be dissipated by the blessings of a grateful and always well disposed, however ill directed people. I am willing to contemplate the tragic calamities inevitable from a rejection of your advice.

I sympathize most truly in your domestic misfortune, but still the memory of departed virtue consoles the mind in some measure, that it inflicts, and when you think on the magnitude of your loss, you cannot but feel joy in the recollection of those qualities which render it so great.

I cannot conclude without adding, that it is peculiarly gratifying to me, that I should have the satisfaction of seeing my public proceedings approved by an inhabitant not only of Yorkshire, but the neighbourhood of Leeds; for my family came from that city. My grandfather having been a considerable cloth merchant, and occupier of Mill-House, but owing to misfortunes, principally from sea losses, that property was sold from the family, still I cannot help retaining hereditary affection for a county and city which gave birth to a father, who could only leave what is now called a very small fortune amongst

## THE WARNING VOICE.

a numerous family; but who bestowed on me an education, and left me an example, which, if I do not abuse, will entitle me whenever I leave this world to the esteem and affectionate remembrance of relatives and friends.

With sincere hope that you may long enjoy your health, and the reward of your benevolent labours, by peace and prosperity being restored to the country.

I remain,  
Your obedient and obliged Servant,  
R. WILSON,

Charles-Street, Berkley-Square,  
October 8th, 1819.

*The Military Life and Honors of the Sovereigns of Europe bestowed upon Sir Robert Wilson.*

As the name of Sir Robert Wilson has been of late so much before the public, a brief sketch of his life may not be uninteresting to such of our readers as are amused by biography, without entering deeply into the political events which are often interwoven with individual actions.

Sir Robert Wilson was born in London, in the year 1778. He is the son of the late Mr Benjamin Wilson, a gentleman well known in the scientific world as having been in his time a member of the principal learned societies in Europe, and still more perhaps remarkable for his controversy with the celebrated Dr. Franklin respecting the superiority of pointed over blunted lightning conductors. Sir Robert was educated at the public schools of Winchester and Westminster. At the early age of 15, having a strong predilection for the profession of arms, he went to the Continent, where the Duke of York was then engaged on service, and his Royal Highness was pleased, out of respect to the memory of his brother-in-law, Colonel Bosville, of the Guards, who was a short time before killed at Lincellis, to appoint young Wilson to a cornetcy in the 15th Light Dragoons. In that corps he served during the whole of the campaign of 1793 on the Continent, and had the good fortune of being one of those officers to whom the Emperor of Germany gave a gold medal, and subsequently the cross of Maria Theresa, with the dignity of Baron of the German Empire for their conduct at the affair of the Villers en Couchie, where, with about 300 men, they defeated the left wing of the French army, with great slaughter, and saved the Emperor from falling a prisoner into the hands of the enemy.—Sir Robert had also the command of the advanced guard of that patrol which passed through the columns of a French army then in march and penetrated to the head quarters of General Pichegru, from whose house the Aid-de-camp and English Interpreter to General Vandamme and two Gens d' armes were taken, and whom they brought safely to the head quarters of the Duke of York, notwithstanding their pursuit for several miles by three regiments of French Hussars.

In the year 1797 Sir Robert returned to England with the British Cavalry; and in the following year married Jemima, the daughter of Colonel Bedford, and niece of the late Sir Adam Williamson. In 1798 during

the Irish rebellion, Sir Robert served in that country as Aid-de-camp to General St. John. On the expedition to Holland he again embarked on foreign service, and on the 2d of October, 1799, he distinguished himself at the head of the corps by a gallant charge upon a body of five hundred French Cavalry, and the recovery of some British guns in their possession. When Sir R. Abercrombie was preparing, in the Mediterranean, the expedition which afterwards went against Egypt, Sir Robert was appointed to a majority in Hompesch's regiment, in order to take the command of the detachment ordered for that service; but as he went by land, and was detained at the Austrian army some time, he did not join Sir Ralph Abercrombie until after the arrival of the British fleet at the Bay of Marmoricae. He brought with him an earnest request from General Bellegarde for the English army to be employed in Italy; but General Abercrombie could not deviate from his instructions. In Egypt Sir Robert was the officer who arranged the capitulation with the commander of the French convoy in the desert. Living intimately with General Abercrombie and the present Lord Hutchinson, as well as with the Captain Pacha, Sir Robert appeared in several conspicuous situations throughout the Egyptian campaign. On the surrender of Alexandria, he embarked with General Cradock upon a new service, the accomplishment of which was said to have been prevented by the signature of the preliminaries of peace. He then went to Toulon, where, in the Lazaretto, he was understood to have collected those materials which he used in describing the personal conduct of Bonaparte in his work upon the expedition to Egypt. Sir Robert was not at that time content that the charges he adduced against Bonaparte should feel their own way in his book, but he delivered to the late King, and also, we have heard, to the Emperors of Germany and Russia, copies of his work, and chivalrously offered to prove his charges before any public tribunal. It was on his return from Egypt that he purchased the Lieutenant Colonecy of his regiment, which, however, soon after the peace was restored. Sir Robert from that time remained on half pay, until the beginning of 1804, when he was appointed inspecting field-officer of the volunteer and yeomanry corps in the western district; but when the Act of Parliament passed which precluded him from having any command of the volunteers or yeomanry, even in case of invasion, he resigned that appointment, and soon afterwards wrote his pamphlet, entitled "An Inquiry, &c. into the present state of the Military Force." In December, 1804, he was gazetted on full pay, as Lieutenant Colonel of the 19th Light Dragoons.

From that period Sir Robert Wilson remained with his corps at the several stations allotted to it, until the commencement of the Peninsular war gave new opportunities for displaying the prowess of the British arms in Spain and Portugal. Sir Robert Wilson appeared in his military capacity in both countries; but in Portugal he had an appointment in marshalling the newly-raised Portuguese militia, or levies, drawn together for the defence of their country; and he acquired considerable credit for the state of discipline to which he had brought them, and for the consummation of which, at a subsequent period, Lord Beresford acquired such just

celebrity. After the battle of Talavera, which, however well fought, was immediately followed by a retreat under unfavourable circumstances, the French General, Victor, advanced through Estramadura, intending to cut off the retreat of Lord Wellington. His movements were said to have displayed consummate military skill, and extraordinary activity in their progress. It fell to the lot of Sir Robert Wilson to encounter the advance of Victor's corps, which was of considerable force, with his small body of Portuguese, then denominated the Lusitanian Legion. Sir Robert stopped Victor for several days at the pass of Banos, and thereby performed an important service to the British retreating army. Lord Wellington, in his despatch, alluding to that exploit, paid a high tribute to the gallantry of Sir Robert, whom, however he styled "a partisan officer"—a name since that time often applied to the gallant individual in question.

We do not hear of Sir Robert much in the Portuguese campaign subsequently to the brilliant affair at Banos, and soon after he returned to England, not to remain inactive, but to attend the head quarters of the allied Monarchs, about to change the scenes of hostility with Bonaparte, from the shores of the Mediterranean to those of the Baltic and the Elbe. Sir Robert, in the capacity of Military Correspondent to the British Government, was present at the several desperate conflicts between the Russian and the French armies in the campaigns of 1811 and 1812, and in many instances volunteered his services in so distinguished a manner as to receive repeated marks of favour from the sovereigns in the field. On one occasion he was invested with an order of honor, by the Emperor Alexander, on the field of battle.

Sir Robert Wilson, soon after the disastrous retreat of the French army from Moscow, was recalled, and his place supplied by General (now Lord) Stewart, brother of the Marquis of Londonderry. Since that period Sir R. Wilson has been unemployed, and has mixed much in the political societies of Paris and London, and devoted himself to the politics of the parties who are in opposition to the administration. He has occasionally employed his pen upon topics connected with the military politics of his country: his last work was upon the policy and the power of Russia, and calculated to call the attention of England to the ambition and enterprize of that great northern power.

Sir Robert's chivalrous, but, according to the opinion of many, indiscreet aid in the escape of Lavalette, is not the least interesting part of his history. With the subsequent events of Sir R. Wilson's life, our readers are well acquainted, from their local and recent occurrence among them.

It is remarkable that he purchased all his commissions but the first. His pecuniary fortune is said to be small.

Lady Wilson has for many years lost her sight owing to an ophthalmic affection. We have heard that another of her family, equally accomplished and interesting, labours under nearly a similar misfortune.

Sir Robert has (or had) a son in the navy.

The following is an extract from the speech of Mr Dupin, the advocate of Sir Robert Wilson in the affair of Lavalette, in which the military reputation of Sir Robert Wilson is eloquently described.—

"Now, Gentlemen, you will be astonished to find, that this man, who has been represented as the enemy of all Europe, is one of those individuals of whom Europe has most reason to be proud, and who has rendered the most important services to the good cause. It is time that I should explain to you the hieroglyphics of honor which he wears on his breast. Wilson is not one of those dishonest possessors, who, when interrogated respecting the cause of their possession, can only reply, I possess because I possess: possideo quia possideo. He can render an account of all his rewards, because he can render an account of all his services. He wears the decorations of the Red Eagle, St. Anne, St. George, and Maria Theresa, the Tower and the Sword, the Crescent, &c. &c. because he has served with honor in the campaigns of Flanders and Holland, Ireland, the Helder, Egypt, Poland, Portugal, Spain, Prussia, Russia, Germany, and Italy; because he has been charged with important missions to Constantinople, St. Petersburg, &c. &c. Wilson fought in Spain against Bonaparte, whose progress he powerfully contributed to impede, by recruiting the Portuguese Legion, the forming of which had such an important influence on the fate of the Peninsula. It was in the Spanish war that he knew Marshal Ney: he does not fear to avow that he was defeated by that commander; but, in his defeat he had to congratulate himself on the generosity of the conqueror; and thus originated that interest, which has since been attributed to political considerations, though it had its source in the purest gratitude. When Moreau was struck by a bullet, Wilson was near that General, and he was the first to raise him and offer him assistance. Wilson has rendered services to all the Sovereigns of Europe; he has even had the good fortune to have been servicable to the King of France; and surely that Monarch, whose heart is so mindful, has not forgotten him. To render you more fully acquainted with the character of General Wilson, that enemy of the repose of Europe! and to prove to you the high esteem in which he is held by the Allied Sovereigns, permit me to read some of the letters, in which those Sovereigns themselves deign to render homage to the noble qualities which distinguish him. Here is my evidence for the defence; Kings are the witnesses! [After reading the letters, M. Dupin resumed.] This last letter\* bears evidence to Wilson's goodness of heart, and the testimony is justified by facts. In 1808 some French prisoners were threatened at Oporto by Portuguese soldiers, and infuriated armed peasants, to the number of 40,000. Wilson opposed the outrage of the latter with a small party of English troops, and a portion of his legion. He repressed their violence by holding out to them the fear of a rupture with England, in case they should presume so far to violate the law of nations; and after thirty-six hours of imminent danger, having been reinforced by a Spanish division; he succeeded in securing to the French prisoners a free passage to the port. At the battle of Tarantina, near Moscow, Wilson saved the life of the nephew of the Duke de Feltre; he kept him at his quarters, showed him the greatest attention, provided him with money, and offered to procure his liberty. The nephew of Prince Talleyrand, who was then Aid-de-camp to General Oudinot, having been made prisoner

\* The letter of Prince Metternich, dated January 4, 1821.

at the passage of the Beresina, and been in misery, Wilson provided him with half of his own money and clothes, and saved him the journey to Siberia. When M Desgenettes, physician in chief to the French army, recovered his liberty at Wilna, he was solely indebted for it to the ardent solicitations of General Wilson. M. Desgenettes was the only prisoner to whom that favour was granted. Not satisfied with this, Wilson presented him with two hundred ducats, to be distributed among the unfortunate French. Independently of this general benevolence, his humanity was manifested, during this campaign, by numerous private acts of service, rendered particularly to Generals Normand and De la Houssaye, to M. Fontanges, to M. Durfort of the house of Duras, &c. &c. I only speak of the act of benevolence, of which Frenchmen have been the object, because they are of a nature to interest you more: but Wilson has not shown himself less generous towards the unfortunate of other nations. An unfortunate person, whoever he might be, had a right to rely upon his heart. Wilson is much as I have described him—brave, humane, and liberal."

### *Sir Robert Wilson in Spain.*

Vigo, May 5, 1823.—On the 1st instant arrived his Britannic Majesty's packet Stanmer, bringing Sir Robert Wilson, Colonel Light, Captain Erskine, two French, and two German officers, all for the purpose of joining the Spaniards against the French. They were received with enthusiasm, and a discharge of artillery from all the ships and batteries; at night they were serenaded, according to the Spanish custom, and the town was illuminated. On the following day, they attended, by particular request, at the Convent of Francisco, to hear mass for the souls of the massacred at Cadiz; after which the whole of the troops were ordered out for the inspection of Sir Robert. On the 4th, (Sunday) the English Officers (the French and German having gone to Corunna) were regularly admitted as Spanish soldiers, and, after a speech from Sir Robert, in Spanish, at the head of the troops, they fell into the ranks with musket and bayonet.

Speech delivered by the English General Sir Robert Wilson, May 4th, 1823, in front of the Local National Militia of Vigo, at the time of being enlisted in it, and before taking the Oath of Fidelity;

"Citizens,—I am not in the habit of speaking the Spanish language, but it is necessary that I should make the attempt on this occasion, to express my sentiments in the best manner I am able. I am persuaded that you will regard the expressions of my heart rather than well-chosen words, which come merely from the lips.

"The moment is come in which I am to take the oath to the Constitutional King of Spain, to his Government, and to the Spanish Nation, during the war which it has to maintain against the French Government—not against the French Nation—in defence of its independence, and of the rights of all freedom. For this I have left my country, and what is more dear to me, and suspended my duties as a Member of the British

Parliament. Yes, my companions, we have come to combat at your side, and to shed our blood, if necessary, in defence of a common and so noble a cause. Let us hope that our example will have some influence on the erring children, unworthy of belonging to Spain, who are waging a sacrilegious war against their mother country, to impose on her the most disgraceful chains by the slaves of slaves. All the English participate your hopes and sentiments.

"This will not be the first time of my combating on the side of the brave Spaniards. In the last war of independence I had on various occasions many thousands of them under my command, and in the field of Mars I learnt to appreciate the rare and illustrious qualities of this invincible nation. In the war pretended to be in favor of the independence of Europe, I gained the insignia which I wear, and which are not due to the favor of the Allied Sovereigns, nor a reward for servile actions; I and many others have been deceived by them, since, instead of being the liberators and protectors of European independence, they have become unjust and despotic Sovereigns. I have placed my insignia over the uniform of a Spanish soldier of liberty, to show that it is not I who have abandoned my principles, but that it is they who have violated the obligations contracted with their subjects, with their allies, and with the whole civilized world.

"Now, in the sacred name of my country, in the presence of God, and before these banners of liberty, I request his Excellency to receive from me and my companions the oath to defend them."

"Vigo, May 8.—Sir Robert Wilson and other English Officers set off this morning for Corunna. A guard of horse soldiers were appointed to attend them the whole way, and they were also accompanied by the Grenadier Company of Volunteers as far as Rodendella, where all the civil authorities, with the militia, came out to meet them. At Pontredesa they were received by the Magistrates and soldiers in the same manner, besides which they were met by young ladies in a triumphal car, who placed a crown of laurel on Sir Robert's head, and conducted him into the town amidst the rejoicings of the people, discharges of artillery, &c.

The following is an extract of a letter from our gallant countryman, Sir Robert Wilson, to Mr. Weatherstone, one of his constituents. It describes, in glowing terms, the devotions of the inhabitants of the Peninsula to the cause of freedom and national independence, and we are sure that it must excite a sympathy with them in the bosom of every Briton not unworthy of the name. It is hardly necessary to add, that the letter has evidently been written in great haste, and without any view to publication:

"I have been received here with an affectionate expression of feeling, which surpasses all my powers of description. I could give an account of the honors that have been paid me, which were all indeed of royal mounting—but who can impart the look—the tone—the heart-linking grasp of welcoming friends? My arrival was a day of pride to me, as an Englishman, and the more so, because I was conscious that I really and truly did represent my brave and generous countrymen in the motives which determined my proffer of all I could devote to the glorious and sacred cause of defence of which Spain

forms the van-guard—namely, zealous and faithful service to the hour of death or victory. Tomorrow, I enter the ranks as a private grenadier of the Vigo Battalion of disposable Militia. It will be for the Government of Spain afterwards to determine my service I and my companions, insist in the first instance, on conforming to the laws in existence. Those companions are, Lieutenant-Colonel Light, late of the British staff in the Peninsula, a most distinguished officer, and excellent gentleman; and a grandson of Lord Erskine's, who came out as a volunteer, to share my fortunes, and who, I am certain, will do honor to his name.

"I have told you of the enthusiasm of this noble people—I must, in justice to them, add, that their exertions and sacrifices are correspondent with their language and exaltation of sentiment; a more honest love of country, and resolution to defend it, never existed. There is, however, a great want of arms and armament here, and in the whole province. Will England permit this event to paralyze such good disposition, and compromise the safety of provinces, the defence of which assures victory? I will not believe it."

"I shall leave Vigo before you receive this, for General Morillo's head-quarters, at Valladolid; but probably may have to return for a time into Galicia, under any and every circumstance, before I take my definitive station. Rely on it, our triumph is certain; but it is an object to preserve the country, and repulse the invader as quickly as possible."

Seville, May 5:—The Portuguese General Rego has returned from Leon to Portugal, in consequence of an order which he received from his Government, by a special courier. All his troops have returned with him.—The Portuguese factions, under the command of Silveira, were on the 17th, at Astorga.

Sir R. Wilson, accompanied by a grandson of Lord Erskine, left London on Wednesday week for Falmouth, with the intention of joining the Spanish army.—Sir Robert addressed a letter to his Southwark constituents on quitting England for Spain, in which he says, "The battle, for the right of nations to change or improve their governments, is commenced on the Spanish soil. Circumstances have authorised me to presume my presence in that field may be welcome to the defenders of those rights. I go, then—not to gratify any personal (which, in the actual state of things, would be an inglorious) ambition—I go, not to mingle with civil dissensions, in which it would not become any foreigner to engage, except he could act the part of a pacificator—but I attach myself to the fortunes of Spain in the hour of her pressure and peril, prepared to share her toils; and I trust I may prove as emulous as any of her defenders to participate in her dangers." Sir Robert concludes with stating that Mr. Lambton has offered his services to take care, in his absence, of the local interests of Southwark in the Commons but that he submits himself entirely to the discretion of his constituents.

#### *Dismissal of Sir Robert Wilson.*

*Horse Guards, Sep. 15, 1821.*

"Sir,—I have it in command from his Majesty to

inform you, that his Majesty has no further occasion for your services.

"I am, Sir, yours,

"FREDERICK, Commander-in-Chief

"To Sir R. Wilson, M.P."

#### *ANSWER.*

Sir,—The letter of your Royal Highness, dated the 15th of September, was delivered into my hands this morning by his excellency Sir Charles Stuart. After the interview I had with Sir Herbert Taylor, your Royal Highness's Secretary, on the morning of the 21st of August, in which I stated my personal desire to meet and challenge inquiry into the calumnies and misrepresentations notoriously circulated, together with the motives of my forbearance, until officially called upon, from giving in my statement of the conduct I felt it my duty to pursue on the 14th ult. when attending the funeral procession of her late Majesty, I could not but be greatly astonished to find the newspaper statements of my dismissal from the service, without any inquiry or previous communication of alleged charges; thus officially confirmed. But I still appeal with confidence to his Majesty's sense of justice, that he will grant my application for the institution of some military court, before which I may have an opportunity to vindicate myself, and prove the falsehood of those accusations, whatever they may be, which have disposed his Majesty to remove from me an army in which I have served twenty-nine years, and in which I have purchased every commission, with the exception of the junior one. I await at Paris your Royal Highness's answer; but shall be ready to appear before any court of inquiry, or court-martial, at the earliest notice.

"I have the honor to be,

"Your Royal Highness's obedient Servant,  
ROBERT WILSON.

Paris, Sept. 20, 1821.

The following is a copy of the reply made to Sir Robert Wilson's application for a court of inquiry:

*"Horse-Guards, Sep. 25, 1821.*

"Sir—I have to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 20th instant, and having laid it before his Majesty, I have it in command to acquaint you, that his Majesty does not judge it proper to comply with the wish expressed in it.

"I am, Sir, yours,

"FREDERICK, Commander-in-Chief.

"To Sir R. Wilson."

*"18, Regent-Street, Pall-Mall, Oct. 9, 1821.*

"Gentlemen,—I feel it to be my duty to lay before you the copy of a letter which I addressed to his Royal Highness the Duke of York, immediately on my arrival in England, with a copy of his Royal Highness's answer.

"I am, gentlemen, your very obedient Servant,

"R. WILSON."

"To the Electors of Southwark.

*Regent-Street, Oct. 8, 1821.*

"Sir,—I have had the honor of receiving your Royal Highness's answer to my letter of the 20th ult. in which, after complaining that I had been removed from the army without a hearing, and without even the statement of any charge against me, I respectfully demanded an investigation of my conduct either by a court of inquiry or court-martial. His Majesty's Ministers have advised their Sovereign to refuse this request, and I thus find myself, after so many years of service, subjected to the severest punishment which can be inflicted upon a British officer, without being told of what I am accused.

"To defend myself against charges which, if they exist at all in a tangible shape, are studiously concealed from me, is evidently impossible. I can neither conjecture their motive, nor by whom they are preferred, nor on whose statements, misrepresentations, or fancies, they may rest; whilst this concealment gives a sanction to every latitude of scruple in which malice or folly may indulge.

"It is true I have seen in the papers, and heard by rumours in society, a variety of things imputed to me, and suggested as the grounds of my dismissal; but I declare upon my honor, that every one of these allegations is utterly false; and that in every instance where the mention of names has enabled me to trace those statements to their supposed sources, their falsehood has either been at once exposed and acknowledged, or they have been disavowed by the parties said to have made them.

"Those who have proceeded to punish me without either trial or hearing, or accusation, render it impossible to give a more precise contradiction, until they shall be pleased to inform me what I have done, or what has been whispered against me.

"But I once more earnestly beseech your Royal Highness to institute, in whatever way shall be deemed the most searching, a rigorous investigation of every part of my conduct.

"Your Royal Highness is well aware, that before my dismissal, I was, beyond all doubt, subject to martial law; and if it be now said that I am no longer in this predicament, I desire to waive all objections to the jurisdiction of a military tribunal, in order that no obstacle may be interposed to the inquiry which I court. It is with unfeigned reluctance that I again presume to remind your Royal Highness of those services which you were formerly pleased to acknowledge; but the strange situation in which I am now so unaccountably placed, compels me to refer your Royal Highness to your letter of the 24th of January, 1815, and the documents to which it relates, in further support of my claims to justice on the present occasion.

"I have the honor to be,

"Your Royal Highness's most obedient servant.

"R. WILSON.

*Horse-Guards, Oct. 9, 1821.*

"Sir,—I have to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of yesterday, urging again an investigation into your conduct, to which I can only reply, that having

laid your former application before his Majesty, and communicated to you his Majesty's sentiments upon it, I do not consider myself warranted in taking any further step.

"I am Sir, yours,  
"FREDERICK, Commander-in-Chief.

"Sir Robert Wilson."

### Southwark Meeting.

On Friday the 5th inst. a Meeting of the Electors of Southwark, in the interest of Sir R. Wilson, was held at the Town-Hall, St. Margaret's Hill, pursuant to public notice, to take into consideration the propriety of raising a subscription, to indemnify that individual for the loss he has sustained by his dismissal from the army.

Mr. Weatherstone was called to the chair.

Mr. Alderman Wood then addressed the Meeting, and stated, that a letter, which they should hear read, had been received from Sir Robert, in which he declined the proposed subscription. The letter did honor to the feelings to his gallant friend, but he conceived the electors of Southwark would be wanting in their duty, if they did not take care that their representative should not suffer for the rectitude of his political conduct. The following letter was then handed to, and read by the Chairman:—

*To the Gentlemen assembled at the Three Tuns Tavern, Southwark, September 26, 1821.*

"Gentlemen,—I have this instant read the resolutions which were passed at the meeting held under your auspices—Impressed with the most grateful feelings for such a proud memorial of your esteem, I must entreat you to cancel the resolution relative to a pecuniary subscription. Economy, and arrangements I have no doubt of making, will afford me ample means to counteract inconveniences to which my family might otherwise be exposed, by a confiscation of military income and of the capital vested in the commissions. I have gentlemen, I assure you, no fear that your bounty would prove any shackle on that independence of action which it is more than ever necessary for your interests I should maintain; but I could not without an abuse of your generous friendship, permit the proposed sacrifices in my favour. I remain, gentlemen, with grateful sense of obligation,

"Your obedient servant,

"R. T. WILSON."

"Paris, Sept. 30, 1821."

Mr. Alderman Wood then again enforced the propriety of proceeding with the subscription. It had been asserted that the sums already subscribed were fictitious. This was not true. He himself, if it was proper in him to do it, could name one of the subscribers for 500l. He had received communications from various quarters, showing the state of the public feelings on the subject of Sir Robert's treatment, one of which, dated "Cirencester, October 3, 1821," and signed Richard Hawkins, was handed to the Chairman, and read to the meeting.

The assembly was then addressed by Mr. Ryland, who concluded by moving Resolutions to the following effect:

**Resolved.**—That, without questioning his Majesty's prerogative to dismiss officers from his service, we cannot but view, with great sorrow, the late exercise of it in the person of our respected, honorable, and gallant representative, Sir Robert Wilson; nor can we but feel that the advice given by his Majesty's confidential advisers to that effect, was intended more to punish an opposer of their measures, and a supporter of the late, ever-to-be-lamented Queen, than for the benefit of the public service. Nor can we consider that advice upon any ground to be just, without an opportunity having been given for his defence, tending, as it has, to deprive Sir Robert Wilson, of his commission, for which he paid upwards of £5000, and after having rendered the most eminent services to his country for nearly twenty-five years, during the most eventful period of our history.

**Resolved.**—That, in order to send forth the opinions of the electors of Southwark, of the manliness, humanity, and independence of Sir Robert Wilson, and their abhorrence of persecution in every shape, it is expedient that a public subscription be immediately entered into, in order to indemnify him for the pecuniary loss the late measure is calculated to occasion, and to prove to the world that his constituents and the people of England do (even in these times) protest against arbitrary power, and will support an injured and high-minded individual.

**Resolved.**—That it is highly expedient to invite a public meeting of the independent citizens of London, and such noblemen and gentlemen of the country as may feel disposed to attend, as soon as possible, for the purpose of furthering the objects of this meeting.

Then followed the usual resolutions of appointing a Committee, and enlisting Banking-houses to receive subscriptions, as well as thanking the Lord Mayor, for granting the use of the Town-Hall, and the Editors of the Times, the Traveller, and other Independent Journals, for their patriotic exertions in behalf of Sir Robert Wilson.

Mr. Black seconded the resolutions, and reprobated the dismissal of Sir Robert without inquiry. The first resolution was then unanimously agreed to.

Mr. Alderman Wood and the Chairman stated that they had received letters from Sir Robert, intimating his intention of being in London next day. The second resolution was then unanimously carried, after which the Chairman read the following letter:

“ Oxford, September 29.

“ Sir,—Understanding from the newspapers that the distinguished General Sir Robert Wilson is dismissed the service without trial, or even an accuser; and finding that the public are proceeding to indemnify that patriotic and noble-minded gentleman for his pecuniary suffering on the occasion, may I request you to enter my name for fifty pounds for the above purpose.”

I am, Sir, respectfully,

“ Your very obedient Servant,

“ J. T. BARBER BEAUMONT.”

“ To G. Weatherstone, Esq. Chairman  
of the Southwark Meeting, &c.”

“ Traveller Office, 11, Craven-court, Oct. 5, 1821.

“ Gentlemen,—I have the pleasure of announcing to you the following subscriptions, which have been forwarded to the office of the Traveller, in behalf of the object which you are about to meet to carry into effect. I beg that they may be announced as coming through the Editor of the Traveller. As the responsibility which lies on me as to the application of sums so large as those which I am authorized to subscribe is considerable, I have to beg that some banker of the city of London may be appointed treasurer, into whose hands the £1250 shall be paid forthwith. I have the honor to be gentlemen your obedient servant,

“ THE EDITOR.

“ To the Committee for promoting a subscription to  
commemorate Sir R. Wilson, &c.

D. (By the Editor of the Traveller)	£1000
A. (By the Editor of the Traveller)	500
B. (By the Editor of the Traveller)	50
N. (By the Editor of the Traveller)	200
	£1250

The remaining resolutions were proposed and carried unanimously.

The Chairman then announced that the following sums had been subscribed in the room, viz. Mr. Williams, £5; “Down with Derry Down,” £1. (Laughter.) To which subscriptions, gentlemen, he continued, I beg to add my own name for £20. (cheers.)

A resolution of thanks to the Chairman was then passed, and the Meeting broke up.

SIR ROBERT WILSON.

No I.

Sir Robert Wilson to the Electors of Southwark.

Gentlemen,—I feel it to be my duty to-day before you copies of the letters which have passed between Lord Viscount Sidmouth and myself; with an accompanying memorandum of a conversation with Sir Richard Birnie:

And I have the honor to be, your most obedient servant,  
12, Regent-street, Oct. 28, 1821. R. Wilson.

To the Electors of Southwark.

No II.

Sir Robert Wilson to the Lord Viscount Sidmouth.

18, Regent-street, October 19, 1821.

My Lord,—Having seen a statement in the newspaper authenticated by the signature of Mr. Thomas Julian, clerk to the Magistrates of the Kensington Division of the county of Middlesex, in which it is asserted that Sir R. Birnie, one of the said Magistrates, did, at a general meeting of Justices, held on the 8th of September, 1821, at the Hammersmith Coffee-house, declare that information had been given to him, at Bow-street, upon oath, that a meeting had been held at the house of Mr. Yende, at which the plan of interruption to her late Majesty's funeral was concerted, and that I had attended the meeting, I have to request that your Lordship will be

## THE WARNING VOICE.

pleased to direct a copy of such information upon oath to be delivered to me, that I may be enabled to institute a prosecution for perjury against the person so swearing. I have the honor to be, your Lordship's obedient servant,

R. Wilson.

To the Lord Viscount Sidmouth.

No. III.

The Lord Viscount Sidmouth to Sir Robert Wilson.

Whitehall, Oct. 19, 1821.

Sir, I have to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of this day, referring to a statement in the newspapers, that Sir Richard Birnie had declared at a general meeting of Magistrates, that information had been given him, on oath, that you had attended a certain meeting, at which the plan for interrupting her late Majesty's funeral was concerted; and requesting me to direct a copy of such information upon oath to be delivered to you, that you might be enabled to prosecute the informant for perjury. In reply to this request, I have only to observe, that if any such information does exist in the hands of a magistrate, it does not appear to me that I am the proper channel through which an application for its production should be made.

I have the honor to be,

Your most obedient and humble servant,  
To Sir R. Wilson.

SIDMOUTH.

No. IV.

Minute of a Conversation between Sir R. Wilson and  
Sir R. Birnie.

"On the receipt of Lord Sidmouth's letter, Sir R. Wilson addressed a letter to Sir R. Birnie for a copy of the deposition on oath, assigning also the motive of the request.

The letter was sent on the 20th. On the 22d Sir R. Birnie sent a note to Sir R. Wilson, stating he had been absent attending the funeral of a friend in the country, and requesting Sir R. Wilson to call upon him, when he would give him the information he required.

Sir R. Wilson having waited on Sir R. Birnie the same day, with Mr. William Lambton, and renewed his demand for a copy of the information on oath, Sir Richard informed Sir R. Wilson "that no information in writing had been taken: that the information was a verbal one, founded upon a report at the Freemasons' Tavern of a meeting having been held at Hammersmith, at which an officer had been present; but that, on the examination of the Tavern keeper at Hammersmith, Mr. Youde, all the magistrates were satisfied Sir R. Wilson had never been in the house." R. Wilson.

\* The above minute was shown to Sir R. Birnie, and received his sanction.

No. V.—(Second Series—No. 1.)

Sir Robert Wilson to the Lord Viscount Sidmouth.

18, Regent-street, Oct. 22, 1821.

My Lord,—Having received information that a deposition upon oath exists in the Home Department, of my having been seen, on Tuesday the 14th of August, on horseback, with a porter pot in my hand, encouraging the populace to pull up the pavement, and oppose impe-

diments to the funeral procession of her late Majesty, I have the honor to request your Lordship will be pleased to direct a copy of such deposition to be delivered to me, that I may institute a prosecution for perjury against the person so swearing.

I have the honor to be;

Your Lordship's most obedient humble servant,  
To Lord Viscount Sidmouth. R. WILSON.

No. VI.—(Second Series—No. II.)

The Lord Viscount Sidmouth to Sir Robert Wilson.

Whitehall, Oct. 23, 1821.

Sir,—I have to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of yesterday's date, in which you state that you have received information that a deposition upon oath exists in the Home Office, of your having been seen on horseback, on Tuesday, the 14th of August, with a porter pot in your hand, encouraging the populace to pull up the pavement, and oppose impediments to the funeral procession of her late Majesty; and you therefore request that I will direct a copy of such deposition to be delivered to you, that you may institute a prosecution against the person so swearing, for perjury; and I have the honor to acquaint you in reply, that I should not think myself justified in giving the directions for which you have applied.

I have the honor to be, Sir,

Your most obedient humble servant,  
To Sir Robert Wilson.

Sidmouth.

Sir Robert Wilson.

On Thursday the 8th inst. Sir Robert Wilson, who has been some time on a visit at Lambton-Hall, passed through Newcastle, in company with Mr Lambton, for Howick, the seat of Earl Grey. On their arrival at the Queen's Head Inn, Morpeth, Sir Robert was cordially greeted by the welcome cheers of the inhabitants, who had assembled in great numbers to obtain a sight of the gallant General. The populace took the horses from the carriage, and drew him through the town, amidst the reiterated plaudits of the people.—Before the horses were again put to, he ascended the carriage, and spoke to the following effect:—

"Gentlemen,—It is a great satisfaction to me, that travelling in company with my honorable friend, Mr. Lambton, on a visit to one of the greatest and most patriotic noblemen of the kingdom, Earl Grey. (applause) I should be honored with this proof of your approbation. I feel proud—but, permit me to say proud, not as an individual, anxious to advance his own honor, but as a member of the great community; because I perceive in your present conduct, that you think as Englishmen, that it is impossible to offer injury to one limb of the body politic without affecting the safety of the whole—(applause). I have been ruined in my profession, deprived of the means of my bread, my property has been confiscated—and it remains for me to inquire, and for you to ascertain the cause—(cries of "shame, shame," "no cause," "none.")—If such things are permitted, there is an end of all justice in this land of freedom and of equity. All I demand is trial and only so far I beg of you to go with me, we will, w: will. I court the penalties of the

law if I am found guilty—I say, I court the penalties, but, gentlemen, I feel assured, that if brought to trial, there is not a manly and independent Englishman, there is not an officer of humanity in the service, not an officer anxious for his own personal honour, not an officer jealous of military discipline, that will not be forced to give me a verdict of acquittal—(applause). I repeat that I court inquiry! I demand trial! There is no man a greater friend to the laws, no man a greater friend to the government of justice than I. I declare myself unconscious of offence—and yet, without the slightest investigation, without the least authorised allegation of crime, I am injured in my rights as a soldier and as a citizen. If such things continue, if ministers have power to make the servants of the public the victims of their caprice, where is the use of any code of any civil or of military law? The army will no longer be distinguished for officers of feeling, justice, and knowledge, but it must become the tyrannical instrument of despotic authority. Gentlemen, I will not detain you longer; I am highly gratified with your flattering testimony, the more so, as the people of Morpeth are distinguished, have long been distinguished for their exertions in the cause of constitutional reform; and, gentlemen, I entreat you to stand firm, let nothing daunt you, let no steps of arbitrary power check you in your course, and I do not despair of being able to congratulate you on the attainment of a great and decisive victory.”—(Loud Cheers).

Since our last the following additional subscriptions have been announced to indemnify Sir R. Wilson:

£. s.

Charles Blundell, Esq. of Ince, Lancashire, to testify his respect for Sir Robt. Wilson's character as a soldier, and for the gallant humanity of his conduct in the affair of Lavalette .....	100	0
Duke of Hamilton .....	100	0
Whichcot Turner, Esq. late 3d Dragoons ...	26	5
Lord Vise Clifton, M P. ....	50	0
J. Grigby, Esq. Drinkston, Woolpit, Suffolk,	10	0
Dr. Fenwick, Durham,.....	10	0
Manchester 2d Subs....	97	4
Leighton, buzzard; 1st Subs .....	8	2
Dr. Chomeley, 35, New Bridge-street .....	5	0
S. & M. Borough, .....	5	5
A Friend, per G. W .....	5	5

And many other smaller subscriptions.

### Sir Robert Wilson.

The following is a copy of the communication of the Envoy of the Republic of Columbia to Sir Robert Wilson, with the thanks of that Republic for his efforts in their cause:

Most Honorable Sir—The Sovereign Congress of the Republic of Columbia, which I have the honor of representing in Europe, uniting its wishes to the opinion of the human kind in favour of your Excellency, has commanded me to forward the following

### DECREE.

“The General Congress of Columbia, taking into

consideration that the distinguished General, Sir Robert Wilson, a worthy Member of the House of Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, always humane, always generous, always firm in his principles of honor and justice, has defended, with his intrepid eloquence, the rights of humanity, and particularly those of this people, alternately victorious and unfortunate in the course of its heroic contest—Resolves, that the Executive Power, in the name of the Republic, present to General Sir Robert Wilson, the most affectionate thanks for the distinguished efforts with which he has promoted and advocated, in the British Parliament, the cause of our happy independence.

“Given in the General Congress at the city of the Rosary of Cucuta, the 14th October, 1821:

(Signed) “The President of the Congress,

JOSEF J. MARQUEZ.

“The Deputy and Secretary,

MIGUEL SANTA MARIA,

“The Deputy and Secretary,

“FRANCISCO SOTO.”

Which Decree I have the honor of communicating to your Excellency, with the Expression of my personal satisfaction; and the President of the Republic, who is at present in campaign, will offer to you, conformably to the disposition of the Congress, the homage of the feelings of gratitude of the Columbian people.

I avail myself of this occasion to manifest to your Excellency the high consideration and respect with which I am;

Honorable Sir, your obedient humble servant,  
Paris, Jan. 28, 1822. F. A. ZEA.

To the Hon. Sir R. Wilson, &c. &c. &c.

### Sir Robert Wilson.

We have waited anxiously for several weeks to hear the real grounds of Sir Robert Wilson's dismission from the army. Although an act of this arbitrary nature has probably been resolved upon in some place still narrower than the council-chamber, and though it was not thought fit to assign any reason to the dismissed officer or to the public, it almost always happens in such cases that the secret creeps about the court, then circulates in the ministerial circles, and that the real ground of the defence of ministers is communicated to the journals under their patronage, which, as avant-couriers to the ministers in Parliament, dress it up with the best of their abilities, and give the cue to all tories and ministerialists throughout the land. But no journal, however well informed, nor any court news-monger, however lynx-eyed, has discovered any cause whatsoever for the dismission of Sir Robert Wilson. Immediately after the announcement of the fact, certain journalists informed us that Sir Robert had committed some heinous crime; they stated that he himself must be perfectly acquainted with it, and would feel no surprise at the consequence; and they intimated that they would be able to disclose to us the mystery in a few days. None of them—not one—so much as thought of attributing Sir Robert's dismission to his mere attendance at the funeral, or to his general political conduct. They expected some important disclosure,

and instructions went for it, till they had "something more to say on the subject." We have waited for the space of nearly two months; and what now? Why, now Sir Robert Wilson has come home, has demanded & tried and been refused; has inquired for accusers and accusations, and none appear; has denied every probable charge, and exposed every party lie and calumny; has presented himself at the barracks, at Whitehall, and in Bow-street, and can hear of no charge except such as are already disbelieved and exploded;—while the court newsmen shake their heads in hopeless ignorance, and the hireling journalists, long dumb-founded, begin to summon up their wits and impudence for some general imputation or vague charge against this gallant hero. Such are the facts, and how much do they not speak for Sir Robert Wilson! They in reality amount to an acknowledgment, on the part of the ministerialists, that his public conduct has afforded no ground for dismissal. Now, however, that there seems no pretence for believing Sir Robert to have committed any act unworthy of an officer or a gentleman, during his attendance at the Queen's funeral, the Tory journals urge two reasons, either of which they contend is sufficient, as a justification of the treatment he has received. One of these is Sir Robert Wilson's conduct in aiding the escape of Lavalette; the other is his attendance at the Queen's funeral. The former must be admitted to have all the merit of antiquity, and to be worthy of discovery by some inhabitant of Grab-Street. It is singular that Sir Robert should be dismissed in 1821 for an act committed in 1815; more especially as all Europe acknowledged that act to be generous and noble, if indeed,—as the French King showed that he thought him unworthy of punishment by offering to release him, as the Prince Regent of England declared the same real sentiment by supporting his family, and as the man whom he assisted to escape now lives at Paris by permission of the very government that condemned him. But it is worthy of the malignant traducers of the Queen of England to censure Sir Robert for not throwing back the intended victim of party rage, during a national convulsion, upon the guillotine from which he had escaped, and for not breaking the heart of his noble wife, who had devoted herself to procure his safety. The other ground on which the ministerial writers attempt to justify Sir Robert's dismissal is—his attendance at the Queen's funeral. There is something so outrageous in the idea of discarding an officer because he mourned for the consort of his sovereign, that these writers themselves dare not state the thing broadly; and in endeavouring to hide their wickedness, they become exceedingly ridiculous. The Courier asserts that Sir Robert Wilson passively sanctioned the riotous and treasonable opposition to government by attending at the Queen's funeral! and that this conduct fully justifies his dismissal from the army! If the Courier wrote for idiots, it could say nothing more irrational. Excuses like these we only notice, in order to show that no justification has been or can be offered for the dismissal of Sir Robert Wilson. We never knew a clearer case. Ministers have no charge against him that they dare name, or we should have heard it long ago. Our

readers will be at no loss to infer the actual reason of his dismissal; but we have expressed ourselves too strongly upon its baseness to mention it in terms. In the meantime we perceive with great pleasure the extraordinary progress of the subscription in Sir Robert Wilson's favor. It already exceeds six thousand pounds, and it is supported by men whose countenance would honor any cause. We rejoice to see that the Whig nobility regard this as a national affair, and tender their munificent subscriptions, like in aid of Sir Robert Wilson, (however high character), than in support of the constitution and freedom of the country. This feeling, we are persuaded, is as extensive as the sympathy for our lamented Queen; and so it ought to be; for if every military officer were, like every civil functionary, dependent for his bread on the nod of the minister, it would be a shame to talk any longer of our free constitution; the influence of the crown would be all but omnipotent, and, with the forms of liberty, we should suffer the reality of a despotism.

*Leeds Mercury.*

—————O—————

#### Meeting to Promote Subscriptions for Sir Robert Wilson, at the London Tavern.

On Thursday the 25th ult. pursuant to notice, a meeting was held at the City of London Tavern, in Bishopsgate-street, for the purpose of entering into subscriptions, appointing a committee to appropriate the funds already collected, and taking other steps connected with the dismissal of Sir Robert Wilson from the army. The meeting was most respectfully attended, and, long before the time appointed for taking the chair, the great room of the tavern was completely thronged with citizens; amongst whom were to be seen some of the most leading men in the city.

At a quarter past one o'clock, John George Lambton, Esq. M. P. preceded by the gentlemen of the Southwark Committee, entered the room, and was received with the loudest acclamations. The Hon. Member was accompanied by the Hon. H. G. Bennett, M. P. Mr. Ellice, M. P. Mr. Hume, M. P. Dr. Lushington, M. P. and several other respectable gentlemen.

Mr. Favell having then moved that Mr. Lambton do take the chair,

Mr. Lambton rose to address the meeting. He said he had felt it a sacred and imperative duty to comply with the invitation conveyed to him by the very respectable Committee of Southwark to attend the meeting this day; and he assured them that no consideration of personal inconvenience could avail to abate his zeal in the cause of justice, or from using his best endeavours to second the wishes of so respectable a body of the inhabitants of this great metropolis (applause). Before however entering upon the subject for which they were met that day, he begged to say a word in explanation of the line of conduct which he had followed hitherto in promoting the subscription for Sir Robert Wilson.—He wished them to believe that his not giving his name openly in the first instance as a subscriber did not arise from any indisposition on his part that publicity should be given to the transaction, but merely because he thought that,

being personally the friend of the gallant General, it would be more proper that the subscription should begin with his constituents; and that, whilst he showed that he was ready to come forward and display his feelings respecting the shameful act which had been committed against Sir Robert Wilson, at the same time he did not like to take the lead in any line of conduct which the public might think proper to pursue. These were the feelings under which he acted; and he was glad, on this occasion, to have an opportunity of avowing them to the world. But he should be permitted to say this was not the cause of an individual—it was not the cause of Sir Robert Wilson alone—it was the national cause (loud cheers). For if the dangerous precedent was once established that an armed soldiery could with impunity overawe the people, there was then an end to all liberty. If we were to be told that the only qualification for gentlemen entering the army was, that they should be blindly obedient to the whims and caprices of the Minister, and that they were in fine, utterly to renounce all patriotic feeling, and give loose to every savage propensity of our nature, then was this country no longer the boasted land of liberty or of law (cheers). But he was sure this doctrine would not gain ground; for amongst the loudest supporters of Government—the veriest admirers of tyranny, or the worst of Tories, there would be some found to spurn at it, and who would forbid their sons to wear the badge of despotism in the service of the ministers. He found great difficulty in accounting for the grounds on which the Government had acted in the case of Sir Robert Wilson. They had not shown a single reason for their conduct, (a voice in the crowd having said "they could not").—He (Mr. L.) knew they could not, and he now pledged himself that they never would be able to do so. He had an opportunity of seeing all that Sir Robert Wilson did and said on the day of the Queen's funeral, and he pledged his character that all that ministers had heard, or pretended they heard, respecting that conduct, were false and unfounded calumnies. (Loud cheers.) He pledged himself, that on that occasion Sir Robert Wilson exerted himself, not only with the greatest humanity to prevent the effusion of human blood, but that his conduct was in every respect regulated with regard to the discipline of that army to which he belonged. He (Mr. L.) knew that the magistrates allowed they were indebted to Sir Robert Wilson's exertions for the order which prevailed, and that they avowed that had it not been for him, more innocent blood would have been shed on that eventful day, when two innocent men were murdered. But in the absence of any reason to justify the conduct of ministers in this affair, there was no great difficulty in guessing what were their motives—the mean and petty motives by which they were privately actuated. Sir Robert Wilson had been too long known for his independent principles. The man who said that "war was not made to gratify the lust of rulers, but to promote the happiness of mankind"—he who bravely stepped forward to shelter an injured, helpless, and slandered woman, became thereby obnoxious to masters who drowned their guilt in their efforts to disgrace him. (Cheers.) He (Mr. L.)

begged of them to remark the slow but sure progress which the military system was making amongst us. In the first place the soldiers were shut up in fortresses, having no communication with their fellow-citizens, and were taught to believe that they had interests distinct from the people, and that all their constitutional feelings must be blunted. And it was lamented to find that in the same ratio that this system succeeded in deadening the constitutional feelings of the soldiers, so were their moral ones also affected, if one was to judge from the charge of the Chairman at the late Westminster Sessions, who declared that one-half of those accused of crime were soldiers, and that those who were supported in idleness to protect the people, were now becoming most forward in destroying the peace of society. It could not be otherwise, for were not the soldiers always praised when they acted with rigour—were they not publicly thanked when they cut down the defenceless people, as at Manchester? And when a high officer tried to counteract these dispositions and to allay irritation, was he not removed from the army, by an attempt the more cruel, as the brave officer was more at their mercy? (Hear.) Where, he would ask, was there an instance of military despotism to compare with this? It was not to be found under the most iniquitous dispensations of the Spanish Inquisition—not in the worst of the petty states of Germany, where the property of the subject was so little protected by law; and yet the ministers of a constitution King—(Cheers)—ventured upon it—the chief rulers of England, that land of law, dared to do it. But who were these ministers—were they not the same who employed Edwards, Oliver, and Castle?—(cheers)—who dismissed Lord Fitzwilliam, and thanked the Manchester magistrates with as little discrimination and justice as they since discharged Sir R. Wilson? (Loud cheers.) He had said this was not the cause of an individual, but a national one. It was not, however, amiss to bring to mind the merits of the individual through whose sides the justice of the country was wounded. He (Mr. L.) would, in a very few words, remind the meeting of the claims which Sir Robert had upon them. He devoted 29 years of his life to the service of his country in one of its most arduous departments—the Army. He fought in every country in the world—in Europe, Asia, Africa, and America, in the North, South, East, and West. He had served in the North, Portugal, Spain, Flanders, Turkey, Italy, and in fact, in almost every country in Europe. He raised the Lusitanian Legion, which, it was admitted, was the principal means of driving the French beyond the Pyrenees, and his services in the Peninsula had been so often recognized, that there were letters from all the Chiefs of Spain, acknowledging the share which he had in driving the French out of Spain. From that station he was driven by the meanest jealousy; but he did not murmur. He went thence to a distant part where he expected the same jealousy would not pursue him. He was everywhere where energy, activity, and courage were required—he was ever foremost, except in the retreat. He deserved and obtained the gratitude of all the Sovereigns of Europe. The Emperor of Russia, at the head of his whole army, was pleased to invest

him with one of his noblest orders—his breast glittered with military rewards, but not a star was bestowed by Great-Britain. (Loud cheers.) Should we not look for some cause to account for the neglect of this brave and gallant officer by his own country; more especially when, by the enlargement of the Order of the Bath, so good an opportunity presented itself? The cause was to be found in an expression, in a declaration of the Emperor of Russia at Frankfort, who said to Sir Robert Wilson, "you told me the truth;" and however that quality might enhance him with a man whom we call a barbarian, yet it worked no good for him with the Ministers at home. They found that Sir Robert Wilson too often "told the truth," and he was therefore long marked out for vengeance. But in speaking of his other qualities, was it necessary to mention his generous conduct to his fellows in arms—his glorious exertions for Lavalette?—(Loud cheers)—exertions, the success of which the King of France ought now to be as much pleased with, as England had reason to boast of them, and which had been lauded over the whole world. It was, indeed, the act of a gallant and generous soldier. Here then was a man that ought not to be deserted. The strong hand of power was stretched over him—it had tried to crush him—but if he (Mr. L) knew England right, it would not let its bravest son be overpowered, who was also its most constitutional advocate.—(Loud cheers) Mr. Lambton concluded by saying that he thought himself called upon to say these few words, before any gentlemen rose to propose the Resolutions; but with regard to the fatal day of the Queen's funeral, he declined touching at all upon that, (A voice in the room said. "It will speak for itself.") Mr. Lambton said he agreed with this gentleman in thinking that the events of that day would speak for themselves. He did hope, however, that some notice would be taken of the proceedings of that day in Parliament, where they would obtain the proper publicity, and where, if they did not obtain entire justice—of which he had no hope—they would at least remain as a record, to show how much the justice of the country had been outraged, and its laws disgraced, on the occasion alluded to. Before he sat down, he had only to desire of them to hear the Resolutions patiently, and then offer whatever occurred to them upon them, being always assured that the meeting which he was then addressing would be as remarkable for its order as it was for its respectability—(The loudest Cheers.)

Mr. Favell then rose, and after an introductory speech, submitted the following resolutions to the consideration of the meeting:

1. That the dismissal of Sir Robert Wilson from the army, without inquiry, trial, or even the statement of any charge against him, is a wanton act of arbitrary power, under the plea of prerogative, a daring inroad on the principles of the constitution, and a cruel injustice to a brave, humane, and meritorious officer, whose distinguished services to his country and her allies have been repeatedly and solemnly recognized by every power in Europe.

2. That this meeting, as friends of public liberty, and the constitution of their country, as established at the Revolution, willingly embrace this opportunity of

avowing their abhorrence of any administration maintaining a large standing army in time of peace, and endeavouring to make its officers the mere creatures of the minister for the time being.

3. That this meeting views with great satisfaction the manly and liberal manner in which so many of the best and truest supporters of the liberties of the country have come forward to unite with their fellow-citizens in marking their indignation at such an attempt, as equally dangerous to the constitution and degrading to the army; threatening the one, with subversion by a military force, and depriving the other of the noblest birth-right of Englishmen,—that of freely discussing the measures of the government under which they live.

4. That the subscription set on foot by Sir R. Wilson's constituents shall have the best support of this meeting, it having it for its object to protect Sir R. Wilson against the effects of ministerial vengeance, and to show to the world, that as often as the advisers of the Crown shall contrive the means of oppressing those public men who support the cause of the people, the people will stand forward to frustrate all such unworthy attempts.

5. That the whole of the subscription already raised and to be raised, shall be vested in five trustees, to be by them disposed of in the way most beneficial to Sir Robert Wilson and his family.

6. That the Marquis of Tavistock, M. P. Sir Francis Burdett, Bart. M.P. John George Lambton, Esq. M. P. Edward Ellice, Esq. M. P. and George Weatherstone, Esq. be requested to act as such trustees.

7. That the thanks of this meeting are eminently due to John George Lambton, Esq. M. P. for having originated this subscription, and for his unwearied zeal in this cause, particularly for having attended the meeting of this day.

8. That the thanks of this meeting be given to the Marquis of Tavistock, M. P. to Sir Francis Burdett, Bart. M.P. to John George Lambton, Esq. M.P. to Edward Ellice, Esq. M.P. and to George Weatherstone, Esq. for having accepted the office of trustees to the subscription fund for indemnifying Sir Robert Wilson.

9. That the thanks of this meeting be given to James Barnett, Esq. for having kindly accepted the office of treasurer to the said fund.

Mr. Favell then moved the first resolution.

The Hon. H. G. Bennett came forward to second the Resolution, and was loudly cheered. After entering into a short account of the military career of Sir Robert Wilson, he proceeded to state, that from his first entering into Parliament he (Mr. B.) had a good opportunity of witnessing the conduct of Sir R. Wilson, having sat every night with him, and almost always voted with him, and he was in all respects a friend to the people. Sir Robert Wilson took a decisive part in the great question respecting the Queen, and by this conduct he awoke feelings of which the meeting had seen the effects; but his great offence in the eyes of Ministers was the last honor which he wished to pay to this insulted woman; he had stood by her in her misfortunes, and he wished to follow her to the grave. He (Mr. B.) had attended on that occasion as a private individual, and though his humanity was not so active as that of Sir R. Wilson in preventing crime, he saw enough to convince him that Sir Robert Wilson, had done no more than his duty as

a bold and honest man. The Government had made out no case against the gallant General; they had none to show, although an engine of theirs had prepared the country to expect one. They struck the blow before they suffered the accused to speak. Here was a soldier of fortune covered with honor—his character was not attacked; Providence had not made him rich, he had nothing to look to but his profession, in which he had invested all his property; and after a life of service, how was he treated? turned out of the army, and robbed of his property; and in whose cause was it that he had put himself forward; it was not in his own, but in that of the people, in the cause of the hundreds and thousands who like Honey and Francis went to see the procession as innocent spectators, and who, but for his humane exertions, would have been still more exposed to the sabres and pistols of a soldiery who fired without command. He interfered to check the effusion of blood, and to tell them what was due to military discipline. In a case thus circumstanced, it was the duty of the community to stand forward as the shield and as the purse of the person so treated—there was no discredit in receiving contributions given for such a purpose, and they would be the last to make the insinuation who had their hands always in the public purse. Mr. Bennett concluded a very impressive speech, by recommending the case of the widows and orphans of the men who lost their lives on the occasion of the Queen's funeral, to the humane attention of the public.

When Mr. Bennett sat down, two claimants upon the attention of the meeting suddenly presented themselves; one of these was the celebrated Gale Jones, who had contrived to make his way into the midst of this respectable assembly, and actually succeeded in getting upon the table before any one was aware of his presence. It is needless to say, that the moment he was recognized, he was compelled to retire, though he afterwards made some impotent attempts to obtain a hearing. The other was a meek-looking elderly Quaker gentleman, who wished to lay before the meeting some chimerical plans respecting the slaves at Algiers. He was, however, easily dissuaded from persevering to disturb the proceedings.

Mr. Lambton then put several of the resolutions from the chair, which was agreed to unanimously.

Mr. Favell proposed the sixth resolution, which appointed the Chairman as one of the committee.

Mr. Lambton returned thanks, and said he accepted the office with great pleasure. He said, that in the appropriation of the funds, care would be taken that they should be applied most advantageously for Sir Robert Wilson's wife and the children, as well as for his own honor; for the gift was not the less honorable because it did not come from the Kings and Emperors, but from his grateful countrymen.—(Loud applause.)

Mr. Favell then proposed the resolution of thanks to the chairman for his conduct in the chair.

Mr. Hume rose, and was received with loud applause. He said that he was in great hopes the gratifying business of the day would have been brought to a conclusion without the necessity of intruding himself upon their attention; but the call which they had now made upon him necessarily compelled him to say a few words in returning thanks for the honor they had conferred upon

him. He could assure them that there was no man in the community more anxious than he was to support with his utmost power the rights and liberties of Englishmen (applause). Considering himself as a man (indeed almost the only one so elected in Scotland) indebted to the people for the free votes of his constituents, he should feel disgraced if he refrained, upon such an occasion as this, from giving his humble support to the present object. He entirely approved of the step which they were about to take, and he hoped that the right feelings of the country would induce the people from one end of the kingdom to the other to testify the universal abhorrence with which they viewed the unjust and violent act of ministers. Let the people consider the magnitude of the question which the treatment of Sir Robert Wilson involved; it affected the situation of 30,000 officers, for that was the number in the service, twelve thousand of whom were in the same situation as Sir R. Wilson, on half-pay. Mr. Hume dwelt with great force of reasoning of the dangerous effect it would have on the liberties of the country, if all the military officers were to be dependent for their subsistences upon the caprice of the ministers of the crown. With respect to the conduct of Sir R. Wilson on the 14th of August, he could say, that he never left his side for ten minutes during the whole of that day, and he could positively declare, that the disgraceful attempts to inculpate him for conduct imputed to him at Kensington were altogether false, and he had no doubt that the other stories respecting him were equally unfounded. The inquiry denied by ministers must ultimately be granted; it was for the people firmly to make the demand, and ministers must obey. Reverting to the subscription which it was the object of the present meeting to promote he hoped they would, if a surplus eventually appeared, apply it to the extending of relief to the families of the unfortunate persons who were wantonly killed on the 14th of August. He concluded by entreating the people, from one end of the kingdom to the other, to call upon Parliament to enquire into the whole of the transactions of the 14th of August.

Dr. Lushington and Mr. Ellice severally addressed the meeting in support of the important object for which they were assembled. The latter gentleman mentioned that Sir Robert Wilson was travelling with him, between Calais and Paris, on the very day that he was sworn to have attended a meeting at Kensington, to arrange the obstacles for the Queen's funeral.

The following gentlemen, on the motion of Mr. Favell, were added to the committee:—

He then moved the following resolution:—

Marquis of Tavistock, M.P.	John Tennant, Esq.
Hon. H. G. Bennet, M.P.	John Christie, Esq.
Hon. Wm. Powlett, M.P.	Thos. Wishart, Esq.
J. G. Lambton, Esq. M.P.	James Barnett, Esq.
Sir F. Burdett, Bart. M.P.	Geo. Fitch, Esq.
Dr. Lushington, M.P.	Thomas Glover, Esq.
Edward Ellice, Esq. M.P.	—Martineau, Esq.
Joseph Hume, Esq. M.P.	Richard Taylor, Esq.
J. C. Hobhouse, Esq. M.P.	Charles Hoppe, Esq.
A. W. Robarts, Esq. M.P.	John Wilson, Esq.
J. B. Monck, Esq. M.P.	Joseph Todd, Esq.

T. B. Beaumont, Esq.  
Samuel Favell, Esq.  
J. Morrison, Esq.  
Francis Place, Esq.

Richard Lilwall, Esq.  
Alfred Thorpe, Esq.  
J. Blacket, Esq.

It was put from the Chair, and carried unanimously.

Mr. Lambton said, that the next resolution which he had to put to them, he put with the greatest pleasure, as it contained the name of an illustrious citizen, who had never in his exertions in behalf of liberty been daunted by any calamity that had been bestowed upon him; he meant Mr. Favell (cheers).

11. That the thanks of this meeting be given to Samuel Favell, Esq. and to the Hon. H. G. Bennet, for the very able manner in which they have moved and seconded the resolutions of this day. Mr. Favell shortly returned thanks.

Mr. Lambton said, that he had just received a note from a gentleman whom he did not know, but wished to address the meeting. The gentleman must know that he had no power over the meeting: it was for the meeting to deal with the request as should to them seem meet. The name of the writer was Gale Jones.

Loud cries of "No, no," succeeded this appeal; and it would be impossible to describe the decided vehemence of opposition which ensued.—As soon as it had subsided,

Mr. Weatherstone rose, and moved the following resolution:

12. That the thanks of this meeting be given to J. G. Lambton, Esq. for his kindness in taking the chair this day, and for his great impartiality evinced therein, and for his uniform and steady support of the rights and liberties of his country.

#### DOCUMENTS RESPECTING SIR R. WILSON.

*The Duke of York to Sir Robert Wilson.*

Horse-Guards, Jan. 24, 1815.

Sir,—I have to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 21st inst. with its inclosures; and in assuring you of the favorable manner in which I am impressed by the merit of your zealous and distinguished services, I have to convey the expression of my regret that the principle of limitation under which the Order of the Bath has been extended, did not admit of your name being included. The invidious difficulties which were apprehended as being likely to arise from a system of individual selection, upon the first establishment of a distinction which necessarily possessed a limitation, rendered it expedient that a line should be drawn to guide the decision, where so wide a field of merit was brought under the Prince Regent's consideration.

This limited line did not embrace a period when you were materially employed with the British army; and having by your distinguished conduct obtained the honors and distinctions of all the foreign armies with which you have so eminently served, I felt comparatively satisfied, under the impression that, in your case, the nature of the principle adopted would be apparent to yourself and your friends.

I have only to add, that upon future occasions, I shall be most happy to bring your name under the Prince Regent's consideration, not only for professional distinction, but as a candidate for the command of a cavalry regiment.

I am, Sir, yours,  
FREDERICK, Commander-in-Chief.  
Major-General Sir Robert Wilson, &c.

FROM THE EMPEROR ALEXANDER.

(Translated Copy.)

General Wilson,—At the moment when a new destination requires you to leave those armies where I have so often had the opportunity to witness in person, and to render justice to your zeal and distinguished valour, I am desirous of giving you a further proof of my satisfaction, by decorating you with the accompanying insignia of my Order of St. Anne of the first class.

The brave men with whom you have so often fought will regret your absence. For my own part I shall never cease to remember your courage and indefatigable exertions, and shall witness with pleasure (should circumstances permit it) your return among your old fellow soldiers.

(Signed) ALEXANDER.  
Presburg, 24th Dec. 1813. (5th Jan. 1814.)

(COPY.)

Langres, Feb. 2, 1814.

Sir,—You will perceive by the inclosed letter that his Royal Highness the Prince Regent has been graciously pleased to permit you to accept and wear the Commander's Cross of the Order of Maria Theresa, conferred on you by his Imperial Majesty. I experience great satisfaction in conveying to you the knowledge of this permission; the honor, rare and valuable as it is, you have nobly merited; and although it is not easy to possess a title to any higher distinction, yet I feel confident that it will not be long before I have to acknowledge, in common with all who are acquainted with the real nature of your services, the justice of your claims even to additional honor and reward.

I am, with great truth, Sir,  
Your most obedient humble Servant,  
(Signed) ABERDEEN.  
To Major-General Sir Robert Wilson, K.M.T. &c. &c.

LETTER FROM PRINCE METTERNICH.

(Translated Copy.)

General,—I experience the greatest pleasure in being authorised to acquaint you that his Majesty the Emperor, desirous of giving you an especial proof of the esteem with which you have inspired him, as well by your military services, as by your upright conduct during your residence at his head-quarters (your departure from which his Imperial Majesty contemplates with regret), has been pleased to confer upon you the Cross of a Commander of his Order of Maria Theresa.

Required by my situation as Chancellor of this Order, I transmit to you his insignia of it, I at the same time congratulate myself in having the opportunity to repeat

those expressions of friendship and attachment which I have so long entertained for you; which are fully participated in by the army that has so often witnessed your brilliant behaviour, and not less so by such of my countrymen as have had the means of appreciating duty the qualities of your heart.

Receive, my dear General, the assurances of my great and inviolable regard.

PRINCE METTERNICH.

Fribourg, 4th Jan., 1814.

#### *Dismissal of Sir Robert Wilson.*

Sir R. WILSON addressed the House of Commons, and commenced by saying that were the object of the motion he was about to submit limited to matters of a private nature, or only personal to himself, deeply as he felt the outrage committed upon him, still he would not break silence; but knowing this question involved others of the utmost importance to the public, he should render himself subject to the reproach of dereliction of his duty, were he to remain silent. Fully impressed with the arduous nature of that duty, still he felt that the happiest moment of his life, when he could, in the face of his adversaries and of all Europe, redeem those pledges he had given to his constituents and the country at large. Circumstanced as he was, he felt it unnecessary to claim the attention or indulgence of a British House of Commons. On giving notice of the motion, he had asked the noble Marquis, was it the intention of his Majesty's Ministers to oppose the production of the papers connected with his (Sir R. W.'s) removal from the army. He had flattered himself the noble Marquis would have abandoned that silence which he must call unjust, ungenerous, and unmanly; and that every facility would have been afforded him to trace to their source the causes of that measure under which he had suffered. He had flattered and consoled himself under the various reports by which his character had been assailed, that immediately on the opening of Parliament the grounds of his dismissal would have been brought forward and openly stated. He had thought that the recent expressions of a noble Baron in the other House (we believe Lord Eldon) would have been attended to. That noble person's words on the occasion he alluded to were—"God forbid that I should live to see the day when any arraigned individual should be kept in ignorance of the charge imputed to him, or that his Majesty's Government should be capable of suppressing evidence necessary for the exculpation or justification of that individual." (Hear, hear.) Was this England, when by ex parte evidence a man was condemned and punished without the possibility of appeal or redress? He did not mean to question the right of the Crown to dismiss its servants, but he reserved to himself the right of showing on a future occasion, that this exercise of that right was a violation of the constitution, and a departure from military law. He would prove that it was incompatible with the rights of officers, and the safety of Englishmen. Were the prerogative to be thus exercised, its effect would be to disqualify Military Officers from sitting in that House. What officer could honestly discharge his duty to his constituents

with the fear of dismissal from the army hanging over his head? It was a power that ought never to be used arbitrarily, to the destruction of the individual and to the prejudice of the public welfare. The question he was propounding could not be considered as trenching upon the royal prerogative. There was a time when that was a practice in England which was now sought to be established in many other countries of Europe. When the maxim was received and acted upon that it was equally blasphemous and atheistical to say that the King could do wrong as that the Divine Revelations contained in the Scriptures were untrue—"E Deb Rex Rege Lex"—when lawyers and even judges on the bench could be found to declare that for questioning the royal prerogative a man ought to be hanged up, it was contended that because the King had the power to pardon he had also the power to punish. But the Revolution of 1688 taught a different lesson. The Constitution then established declared that the prerogative cannot be stretched in this country to the power of doing wrong. The King's prerogative was a power that must be executed for the public good.—Before entering into any observations on the conduct of his Majesty's Ministers, he begged the House first to consider the peculiar character and circumstances of the individual who had been treated in this manner. That individual was an officer of twenty-nine years standing; an officer who, even though it were not in his power to produce proof of meritorious service with respect to his own country, had still received from the Government of another, such testimonials as entitled him to some consideration in that profession to which he had the honor of belonging—an officer whose exertions, for many years, were directed to the support of liberty in every country where he thought those exertions could be of any service—an officer who was also a Member of Parliament, and who, in that capacity, conscientiously opposed his Majesty's Ministers, from a firm conviction that the line of policy they pursued was destructive of public happiness, injurious to the best interests of the State, and calculated to introduce a violent system of Government—from a conviction that they were equally enemies to the liberties of their own country and to the general liberties of mankind. Had this officer no complaint to make on account of the manner of his removal? Was there not fair grounds for inferring—was it rather not perfectly evident—that his Majesty's Ministers had been induced to give such advice to their Sovereign from some morbid resentment, or for the indulgence of some violent party feeling? If such were not the case, for what reason was it that he had been thus, without trial or inquiry, deprived of his rank, and the property he had vested in his commissions thus confiscated. Upon this subject a mistake had gone abroad which he was desirous to remove. It was supposed that he had not lost the property thus vested. To make this matter clear, it would be sufficient to read an extract from the regulations made by the commander-in-chief, in 1813, with respect to Major-Generals being Lieut.-Colonels of cavalry regiments. By those regulations it was provided, that to render the Commanding Officers of cavalry regiments, who were General Officers, more efficient, they should be allowed to retire on the full

pay of Lieutenant-Colonels, or to sell (here Sir R. Wilson read the extract) out on the full pay at a regulated price. Why then, he would ask, was this officer cashiered? Why was a punishment inflicted upon him, which, in the military code was considered next in gradation to that of death? His circumstances were not unknown.—They who thus deprived him of a great part of the resources which alone he possessed, were no strangers to his situation. They were well aware that he could not be deprived of such a portion of the income he possessed without great inconvenience to himself and his family. Was he not warranted to conclude that it was done with a hope of obliging him to resign his seat in Parliament, and to take refuge in some foreign country? There was one circumstance he could not help noticing—a circumstance which he thought would appeal strongly to the sympathy as well as to the justice of the house.—It was notorious that more than one member of his family had been afflicted with one of the most serious of all human calamities, and were suffering under it at the time his Majesty's Ministers thought proper to advise the Crown to deprive him of his commission. When such a thing was done under such circumstances, the natural inference to be drawn was, that such punishment would never have been inflicted without trial or inquiry, unless there had been a degree of guilt which it was mercy towards the individual to conceal. He knew a number of officers in France who every where said, that his removal without trial would never have taken place were it not from a conviction that trial, if gone into, would have been the means of entailing on his family greater pain, greater suffering, greater calamity. Hardly a day passed in which, for a considerable time, he was not made the subject of attack in some of the public prints—libels were poured upon him from various quarters—and it was inferred, in no obscure language, but in plain and direct terms, that he had been deprived of his commission for no other reason than because he had previously so much degraded himself as to be rendered totally unworthy of it. Was this a situation to which an officer ought to be reduced, without proof or inquiry, without any charge made, of course without any opportunity of defence? Was it a situation in which any man ought to be placed, under a Government possessing the smallest claim to liberty, or to common justice?—Would Ministers deprive him who served his country for so many years—who fought for her in so many battles—would they refuse him that justice, not denied even to the most humble individual, that of knowing the crime with which he was charged, the grounds on which he was punished, and the evidence on which that punishment was founded? If Ministers refused him this justice, he would appeal to the house for it; as legislators, as members of a free country, as men, as gentlemen, he called upon them to do by him as they would wish their children to be done by. If innocent, he had a right to be tried: if guilty, the house, the country, the army, had a right to know the nature of the offence with which he was charged—(Hear)—that it might serve as an admonition in future. What was the object of punishment, but example? And where was the example here? How could it possibly serve in the way of example,

when the nature of the offence was so studiously concealed? This was not justice. It was a little in the spirit of justice as the mysterious proceedings of the inquisition itself, where punishment was inflicted without trial or inquiry, without bringing the accused in the presence of his accusers.—(Hear, hear.)—Even the Turk himself, when he condemned the unfortunate object of suspicion to the bow-string, did not conceal the nature of the charge for which it was applied. The crime was published by a label affixed to the breast of the condemned, and was he to be deprived even of this semblance of justice? to be condemned and punished without even a mockery of trial? Such proceedings had a direct tendency to introduce a military government, for if the power of punishing in this manner was to be added to the power of promotion, vested in the Crown, it would reach such an influence as must render nugatory all the institutions of their ancestors. He did every thing in his power to avoid making this appeal to the house; he applied to the government for a copy of the charges and proceedings against him, to the Secretary for the Home Department, to the office of Commander in Chief, but all to no purpose. He was going to enter upon the circumstances of the case, and he was fully and painfully aware of the difficulties he had to contend with; for he was going to grapple, not with the charges, for he did not know of any, but with mere shadows. The truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, it was his duty to lay before the house; and this he would do with all its details. There were some Member in the house who were acquainted with many of the circumstances he should have occasion to mention, and whom, therefore, if he should be wrong, he begged to correct him. On his honor, he would describe every circumstance that occurred with truth, and in all its details. It would be necessary for him to go back a few days previous to the 14th of August, the day on which her Majesty's funeral took place, for with the events of that day his dismissal from the army was connected. It was on the 9th of August, whilst at the house of Count Orloff, in Paris, that he was informed by Sir Charles Stewart, at midnight, that a telegraphic despatch had arrived announcing the death of the Queen. This circumstance he mentioned, as a report had gone abroad that he received the news while sitting in company with thirty French officers, and used such language as excited their indignation. He might appeal to the British Ambassador for the correctness of what he here stated, who would be able to contradict him if the fact was not as he represented it. Upon receiving this intelligence, he determined immediately to return to England, and the Member for Coventry, who was in Paris at that time, agreed to leave it in company with him on the 11th. That hon. Gentleman (Mr. Ellice, we believe) could assure the house that they were both ignorant of any other circumstance connected with her Majesty's decease, except it took place on the 9th. They travelled all night, and at the second post from Boulogne met a French courier, from whom they learned that her Majesty had given orders to have her remains conveyed to Brunswick. On the 12th he was informed that the funeral was to take place on the 14th and wrote to the Member for Ilchester (Dr. Lushington).

ton) informing him of his journey, stating that he came for the purpose of paying the last tribute of respect to the Queen, and that he was ready to place himself for that purpose at the disposal of her executors, who, he supposed, were entrusted with the arrangement of the ceremony. He then sent a letter to his son who had been Equerry to her Majesty, inquiring what arrangements had been made by the executors, and expressing a wish to have a seat in the mourning coaches, and to join in the procession. The answer was, that one of her Majesty's Carriages would be at Cambridge House, and that he might proceed from thence to Brandenburgh-House. He did not arrive in London before two o'clock on the 13th. He found the carriage was gone, and he therefore went to the house of Mr. Alderman Wood, who told him he was going to set out for Brandenburgh House himself, and would give him a seat in his carriage. The honorable member for Coventry offered to accompany them, and to him he would appeal for a confirmation of this statement. He would appeal to him whether he did not express a desire to attend the funeral in one of the mourning coaches. Alderman Wood told him that it would not be permitted; and he therefore determined to avoid the pain of refusal. They then proceeded to Brandenburgh House, where he had not the slightest communication with any individual, except the members of her Majesty's household, and the executors, who were occupied in the arrangements of the funeral. He mentioned this, as a report had gone abroad that plans were formed at Hammersmith for the purpose of obstructing the procession, and that he was not ignorant of them. On leaving Brandenburgh House, he saw the member for Ilchester, who informed him, that if he went to the Freemasons' Tavern, he would meet the member for Aberdeen, (Mr. Hume) who would inform him at what time the procession would begin to move. He went to the Freemasons' Tavern, where Mr. Hume had not arrived. The time he was absent was so very short, that his rapidity excited the surprise of his brother-in-law, Lieutenant General Burrowes. He then proceeded to Brookes's, to see the honorable member for Winchester, and there Dr. Lushington and Mr. Wylde came also, some time after eleven o'clock. Up to that time no arrangement had taken place; they did not even know if the funeral was to take place next day. However, between five and six o'clock next morning, he proceeded to Alderman Wood's, and finding that he had gone, went on to Brandenburgh-house, and on his way overtook the worthy Alderman. It was necessary for him to state, that he was mounted on a little chesnut, handsome horse, of the worthy Alderman's, and not on a tall, grey, thin one, as was stated in the information which he had reason to believe was laid before Government. On the way he had no conversation with any one except Alderman Wood; there was not the least indication of any obstacle on the road. They remained at Brandenburgh-house for some time, and during that period had no conversation with any one except the persons immediately employed about the funeral; indeed, they could not have any on account of the strictness with which the police officers kept every body from the door. At length, at the desire of Dr. Lushington, he and his hon.

Friend come down to be present at his (Dr. L.'s) protest against the proceedings of the undertaker, and the demand made for the authority under which he acted.—Instead of an instrument signed by a Secretary or Under-Secretary of State, he could show nothing but the programme of the funeral. However, the executors did not choose to resist the arrangements of the undertaker. He (Sir Robert) addressed himself to Sir George Naylor, who was there, he believed, in some heraldic character. He said to Sir George, that he and some of his friends wishing, as much as in them lay, to testify their respect for the memory of her Majesty, wished, if it were permitted, to ride by the side of the hearse. The answer was, that it was contrary to the rules, and that their proper station was behind the last mourning coach. This answer he conveyed to his friends; and accordingly they posted themselves behind the last mourning coach. The procession advanced as far as half-way, near Kensington Church, where it remained above an hour. A man, who had apparently passed the line of procession, said that it was obstructed; he was immediately checked by the Hon. Member for Shrewsbury. After about half an hour more, he and his Honourable Friends went on; some of the horsemen proposed to accompany them, but they would not permit them to be of the party. They went as far as the head of the procession, and there he posted himself near the Blues, and got into conversation with an officer, whose countenance was familiar to him, but whose name (which he afterwards found to be Captain Bouvierie) he did not then know. He asked this officer the question, if the procession was to pass through the City? The officer replied that he did not know—that he was commanding a guard of honor, and must be guided entirely by instructions: he observed, at the same time, that the people were doing very wrong in obstructing a baggage waggon, which had that morning come from Windsor. He (Sir Robert) saw that the people were acting wrong, and accordingly, accompanied by his Honorable Friend, Mr. Hume, went up to the place, and, after a little remonstrance, they suffered the horses to be yoked, and the waggon to proceed. They then returned to their station in the procession, which now advanced towards Knightsbridge, until they came to a part of the road which appeared to him to have a dead wall on one side. Here a slight halt was made, and some one came up to him, and seeing he was wet, asked him to have some refreshment. The procession had not advanced far, when a gentleman came riding by, from the direction of Hyde Park corner, and stated that he was authorised by Sir Robert Baker to state that the procession would go through the city.

But, to their astonishment, they found on reaching Hyde-Park corner, that the procession turned up through the Park. It proceeded rapidly through the Park, until they reached Stanhope-Gate. He stopped here, and in a little time saw an honorable Member of the house, who commanded that day, riding down, and the instant suggestion was, that he was going back for more troops. The head of the procession having passed through Cumberland-Gate, it appeared to stop, and some confusion ensued. There was a rush of people, and he (Sir R. Wilson) saw at the

same time the guards cutting at the people, but was certain that it was no more than the flourishing of their swords. A second and a third rush took place. He then proceeded to the place, and by the time he arrived there the leading horses of the first coach had passed the gate, and the hearse surrounded with the Blues. The Guards were all in disorder and confusion, such as he was in the habit of seeing cavalry bodies in when suddenly repulsed in the field. He saw at once that the conduct of the Guards, and their continued firing, only tended to break the peace. He addressed himself to one of the parties, and asked if they had orders to fire? They said they had not, but that they were exceedingly ill-treated by the populace. He then rode up to another party, who made him the same answer. He said to them "Now that the attacks of the populace are over, now that they have ceased to throw stones, for God's sake have done." One of the men said that the Guards were firing only blank cartridges. But the fact was otherwise, as but too well proved. At the moment he was speaking to the man a shot was fired from behind him which grazed his cheek so nearly, that he put his hand to feel if any part of his face was injured. He immediately turned round and saw three men in the act of re-loading their pistols. He addressed them, observing that this was most disgraceful, that they were soldiers of Waterloo, and should not disgrace themselves; that they had had cannon-shots at their heads, and should not mind these paltry stones. This was all that passed. He was as cool at the time as he was at that moment—not an oath had escaped from his lips during the time, so help him God! At this time he saw a gentleman in coloured clothes, mounted on a dragoon horse, approach, whom he immediately took to be the Magistrate. He said to him, "Sir, you, as a Magistrate ought to have been here; this is the place for the Magistrate to be." The Magistrate replied, "I have been occupied in removing the obstructions to the progress of the funeral, and that was my place." He (Sir Robert Wilson) observed that he (the Magistrate) must have been aware of the disorders which had just taken place at that spot, and how necessary was his presence in order to check them. The Magistrate, in answer, made a remark, which he (Sir Robert Wilson) would much rather hear repeated by that Gentleman at the bar. In fact as he would not wish to become the accuser of any person, he would rather decline repeating that remark at present.—(Cries of "State it.")—At that moment he saw an officer come up, who he believed was the commanding officer, whose name he afterwards discovered was Major Oakes, to whom he (Sir R. W.) communicated what took place. This gentleman said he gave no orders to fire, and distinctly declared that he was sorry the firing had taken place. He (Sir Robert) then presented the Magistrate to Major Oakes, who received him with the usual courtesies and acknowledgments. He repeated to them the propriety of their remaining near each other, and how beneficial it would be if they kept constantly near the men. He ought to say, that the men generally felt the rebuke, and said let us give up and form. There was at this time a considerable pause. He then represented to Major Oakes that the guards had

made themselves so obnoxious to the people, that so long as they accompanied the procession there could be no expectation of tranquillity.—He (Major Oakes) observed, that he and his men had now done the duty appointed for them, and that it would be no longer necessary for them to stay, and he would go to the Commanding Officer for further orders. Seeing that the Guards were to be drawn off, he (Sir Robert) suggested to Major Oakes that it would be proper for him, in order to the safety of the soldiers and the preservation of the peace, to order the men to advance before the procession, and take the part turning to the right. He agreed in the propriety of this suggestion. On turning the corner one of the soldiers was violently struck with a stone, and he (Sir Robert) must say, that he never saw a man behave with more temper and forbearance than the soldier. In fact, up to this time, there was nothing like that alarming throwing of stones which would justify the Guards in having recourse to their loaded pistols. The procession having advanced a little, an officer, with his men, came up with an order from Lord Liverpool. He (Sir R.) said to him, as he had only six men, it might be improper for him to remain with the procession, and in consequence he did withdraw. After this some confusion ensued in consequence of one of the horses becoming entangled in the traces, and some of the people, taking advantage of the disorder, attempted to impede the procession. But this attempt he (Sir R.) laboured, and successfully, to prevent. He then returned to his station in the procession, after having conversed with Sir Robert Baker, who entirely agreed with him upon the propriety of what had been done, and never left that station till the procession arrived at Ilford. He then returned to town, and could solemnly say that he took no refreshment except at his own house. This he was the more anxious to impress on the House, as he was given to understand that Government were in possession of information, in which it was stated that he (Sir Robert) had dined with a certain gentleman, and after dinner had given a most vulgar, if not a treasonable toast. He went next day to Colchester, and there he attended the remains in the capacity of a mourner. Next morning he proceeded with the funeral to Harwich in the same carriage with the Member of Ilchester. At first he paid no attention to the rumours which were in circulation against him; but on finding them repeated, he determined on going to Lord Harrington, the Commander of the regiment—a nobleman whose friendship he had the honor of sharing for many years—but he discovered on calling, that he (Lord H.) was not in town; however he (Sir Robert Wilson) then saw his son, and requested him to convey to his Noble Father, the circumstances which he then disclosed to him. Threats and menaces were then held out against him of dismissal at one time—or a Court Martial at another—inso much that he took the advice of his friends as to the propriety of his making out a statement of the whole transactions as they occurred. Their advice was, that no such statement could, with propriety, emanate from him, especially as two Coroner's inquests were then sitting, and his own indisposition to become a volunteer evidence, or any party whatever to the then proceedings. On the 27th August, the Commander in Chief being at

Brighton, he saw Sir Herbert Taylor, and told him he (Sir R.) could not go to Brighton without exciting some attention, and therefore informed Sir H. that, as defamatory reports were in circulation which might make an unfavorable impression on his Royal Highness, he was quite ready to meet them, adding, at the same time, that as he had left two of his children unsettled at Paris, he should go there; and if he did not hear from his Royal Highness shortly after, he should consider the matter as requiring no further notice. On the occasion of that visit, a minute was made of what General Taylor said, the purport of which was, that as no official communication had been made to him on the subject, he must decline any further interference. From the 27th August to the 5th September, he received no communication, and he immediately returned to Paris. On the 19th Sept., he received a note from the English Ambassador, Lord Stewart, informing him that he (Lord S.) had had a communication from his Majesty's Ministers which he wished to impart to him. The next morning he waited on the Ambassador, having learned in the interim that his dismissal had already appeared in the Courier English Paper. On the 20th, in the morning, he called on the Ambassador, who gave him a letter from the Commander-in-Chief, which ran thus: "Sir, I am commanded by his Majesty to acquaint you, that his Majesty has no further occasion for your services." Thus, in two lines, was his character stigmatised, his property plundered,—(Cries of 'hear')—his hopes of further promotion blasted, and his reputation, as far as it could be, attempted to be stained. This, to be sure, he regarded only as an official letter, and not as one which conveyed the generous feelings of his Royal Highness. And he took this opportunity of publicly stating his thanks to that Royal personage, for the many, many acts of kindness which he experienced at his hands. (Hear, hear.) In answer to that letter, he stated that he had purchased his commissions, that he only wished for a trial, and should remain in France until he could receive an answer through the regular military channels. On the 24th of September he wrote to Major Oakes, in consequence of an erroneous statement in some of the papers, which appeared to have the sanction of that gentleman's name. Rather, however, than now read that communication, he should proceed with the correspondence which took place between him, the Commander-in Chief, and the Secretary of State for the Home Department. On the 25th of September he received a communication from the Commander-in-Chief, in which he was informed, "that his Majesty did not think proper to comply with his (Sir Robert Wilson's) request." Immediately after the receipt of that letter he set out for England, where he arrived on the 7th of October. Still desirous of obtaining justice from his Royal Highness and the military authorities, he made another communication to his Royal Highness the Commander-in-Chief, stating how impossible it must be to defend himself against secret charges; denying the reports in circulation against him—his liability to be tried by a court-martial before his dismissal—and his voluntary submission to a military tribunal, as in the case of Lord George Sackville and others, who, on consenting to be so tried, were allowed to abide its result.

The answer, however, to that communication was, "that no further step could be taken." Thus, without any circumstantial evidence against him, no opportunity was afforded for his justification; in fact, it was manifest that his original condemnation would at all hazards be maintained. Still he hoped for justice from his Majesty, and applied to Lord Sidmouth. He stated to his Lordship, that he (Sir R. W.) heard information was given of his having attended a private meeting, at which the obstructions were planned; at the same time requesting a copy of such information, in order to bring the party to trial for perjury. To that demand the noble Lord replied, that he was not the proper channel of such communication. He then went to Sir R. Birnie, and after repeated correspondence, that charge was declared to be false before the first meeting of magistrates, which took place at Hammersmith. (Cries of 'hear.') He had next ascertained that a deposition was given to Government, alleging that he, with a pewter pot in his hand, gave orders for impeding the Queen's funeral: but Lord Sidmouth also declined giving him a copy of that document. Such a conduct might be very consistent with the rules of office, but it must prove extremely painful and severe to individuals to have such depositions lodged at a public office to their prejudice, and not to be able to procure a copy of them. He now came to the correspondence between himself and Major Oakes. The gallant General here read a copy of his letter to the Major, the purport of which was a request, to contradict the statement which appeared in some of the papers of the 20th August—detailing what had passed between them, and stating the call he made for an inquiry into his (Sir R. W's) conduct. The three substantial points of his letter were—first, the admission of the Major, that he gave the soldiers no orders to fire; secondly, the introduction of a magistrate to him; and thirdly, his suggestion of that flank movement which was afterwards made by the Major. The reply of the Major was, his disqualification to be the organ of any such public communication—that if he noticed one erroneous rumour, he must notice all, or that his silence would be construed into an admission of their truth—he (Major Oakes) generally declared his ignorance as to the points enumerated; but expressly admitted that "he gave no orders to fire," that he retired by the flank movement suggested by him (Sir R. Wilson), that he introduced the Magistrate, saying, "here is the officer," and concluded by the denial of expressing any regret on the occasion of the firing, but that only as far as his recollection went. The letter of Major Oakes was perfectly satisfactory to him (Sir R. Wilson) and having ascertained that Mr. White was the magistrate whom he had so introduced, he wrote him a letter, in which he begged him to state, if "in one intercourse I did not express my best wishes to preserve tranquillity and respect for the laws, and if there was any thing in my conduct which was not strictly in unison with that wish?" So far he (Sir R. W.) had done every thing to challenge a denial of his statement. Mr. White, in his reply, declined saying any thing, unless necessity obliged him to do so. (Loud cries of 'hear.') Not satisfied with such an answer, he wrote the magistrate another letter, com-

plaining of his silence—and now, though Mr. White was so reluctant of saying any thing, he (Sir R. W.) challenged him to appear in any Court, civil or military—aye, at the bar of that house—(hear, hear,)—and contradict, if he could, what he had now asserted. He heard that Mr. White was a man of sense—a man of character—a man of strong religious feelings, and he would ask him, fearlessly, if the restoration of peace on that day was not due to his (Sir Robert Wilson's) exertions? (Cries of hear, hear.) If Mr. White had either the feelings of a man or of a gentleman, he now dared him to deny the facts. Prepared as he was to prove these facts, he asked what was his offence? Was it a crime to attend the funeral of the Queen, and pay the last tribute of respect to her remains? Was it an offence to pay respect to the wishes of his constituents, to act consistently with his own feelings? If he had shrunk from doing so, he would be that which he trusted he was not—one of the basest men alive. If that were not his offence, was it the prevention of the shedding blood? (Hear, hear.) Was it because he stopped the progress of those intemperate proceedings which would be equally fatal to the soldiers and the people? That his whole object was the maintenance of peace and the support of the law was proved by his correspondence with Major Oakes; while it was notorious that to his interference the procession was allowed to go the proposed route. Was his offence the language he addressed to the soldiers? That language made no widows and no orphans,—(hear, hear,) and he was sure the soldiers themselves would thank him for doing that from which, in other moments, their better feelings would have shrunk. He could appeal to the men who served under him—to those military and official characters with whom he had been for years engaged, whether in the whole course of his conduct he had not always consulted the comforts of the one, and attended strictly to the orders of the other. The law required all men to protect the public peace; they became accomplices in riot who did not check it; and would it be for him who fought so many battles, who was engaged in so many campaigns, to sit ignominiously on his horse, at the very scene of tumult, and make no effort when he could to protect the public peace? Would the House say there was such a distance, or rather such a collision, between the civil and military duty, as that a man who attempted to restore tranquillity should be punished as a criminal because he happened to be a register member of the army? (Hear.)—He called upon the house to shelter and protect him—to prove their attachment to the Crown, not by a blind, unconstitutional, or illegal subserviency, but by a disposition to maintain the just authority of the law. He called upon the house to interfere on the present occasion, and prove to the country, that there was not that indifference, that want of sympathy, between their representatives and the people, which now caused that cry for reform throughout the land. He always felt a pride in wearing the British uniform, because it had been worn by so many brave men—but bravery was not a common virtue; and he felt a still greater pride in wearing it, because those who did so, were employed to protect the laws, and to be protected by them.—(Shouts of Hear, hear.)—He knew not how the vote of that night might possibly affect him—but this he knew, that he had an approving conscience—that he faithfully discharged his duty—and he was entitled to that redress which he now sought from a British House of Commons.—(Shouts of Hear! followed at the conclusion of this speech.)—The gallant General then moved, that there be laid before the house a copy of the correspondence which took place between the Commander-in-Chief, the Secretary of State, and himself, in the months of September and October last, relative to his removal from the army.

Lord PALMERSTON said, if there were one prerogative of the Crown more indisputable than another, it was that of dismissing any officer without trial—without assigning any reasons for such dismissal—or without paying any regard to whether the commissions were or were not purchased. That prerogative was formed on the most uninterrupted usage, and had been the practice of all times—even of those times which the Gentlemen opposite had often called the best.—There was one fact to which he could appeal in corroboration of this opinion; he meant the proceedings of both houses in Parliament in the year 1784, when bills were tendered to both houses to restrict that prerogative, but which bills were almost unanimously rejected. No prerogative was more essential. Without it would be impossible to preserve the discipline of the army, either as to its internal subordination, or the intercourse between the civil and the military powers. To maintain that officers should only be dismissed by officers, would be to create a fourth estate in the country; and once let the army be made independent of the Crown, and they would soon be independent of the Parliament.—(Hear, hear!)—All their annals verified the fact in letters of blood, and such a doctrine brought a king to the scaffold, and turned the Parliament out of doors.—(Hear, hear!). He admitted such a prerogative should only be exercised on the advice of responsible advisers; but, at the same time, he denied there was any abuse of it in the present instance. The hon. Member (Sir R. W.) had said, that he was dismissed in consequence of his political conduct, and the fear entertained by Government of so formidable an antagonist. And he (Lord P.) could easily understand, that there were many liberal politicians who believed their adversaries capable of such meanness; but he could appeal to the general principles on which the Government acted as the best refutation of such a charge. Were there not now in the house persons who took as decided a line of politics as the hon. Member? Was there not in the house a gallant officer who represented some Scotch Burghs; and if the politics of gentlemen were thus stated to be the cause of their dismissal, would that gallant officer have received pay so long, or would the Government have waited till August, 1821, to dismiss the honorable Member himself? It was a direct insult to the Sovereign, that an officer, decorated with orders, should have remained so long amongst a mob who were guilty of such illegal proceedings.—(Hear, hear, from the opposition.)—The statements of the hon. Member committed him. He stated, that on his arrival at Cumberland-gate, he saw the Life Guards in disorder, defending their lives against the attacks of a mob. And what did he do? That which, as an officer, he knew he ought not to do—or if

he knew it not, he were unfit to hold a commission—namely, to give orders without being on duty, or acting under the directions of the civil power.—(Hear.)—The hon. Gentleman must have been aware that his interference, taking the act merely as it appeared from his own account, was not such as was becoming the character of a British officer. The hon. gentleman had said, that he told the soldiers that their conduct was disgraceful. (Hear, hear, and No, no, from the opposition.) (Sir R. Wilson said, that his expression was “ You will disgrace yourselves if you continue firing.”)—Well, it was immaterial, for what right had the hon. Member to take upon himself at that moment to judge of the conduct of the soldiers? The hon. Member had admitted that he had not known whether any orders had been given or not, until he had addressed the officer.—(No, no, from the opposition.)—The very fact of his having put the question to the officer, proved that he could not know at the time whether orders had been given to the military or not. As a general officer he must have known that to interfere with an officer or soldier when in the discharge of orders, was a high breach of military discipline. He would say, therefore, that to grant the motion of the hon. Member would be to interfere directly with the prerogative of the Crown. There had not been shown, even in the hon. Member’s own statement, the least ground for presuming that that prerogative had, in the present instance, been improperly exercised; but there was a sufficient military reason for presuming that it had been properly exercised, and he hoped that the house would therefore feel disposed to negative the hon. Member’s proposition.

Mr. LAMBTON began in so low a tone that we could not distinctly hear his introductory observation. He had always felt indignant at the treatment which his gallant friend had received, and he certainly did not now feel that indignation altered by the tone and manner of the reply which had been made, and by the sneering remarks made by the noble Lord, which he thought conferred little credit upon his own feelings, and augured ill of the defence which it was the intention of his Majesty’s Ministers to make against the charges of his gallant friend. The noble Lord had said a great deal respecting the antiquity of the prerogative, which he (Mr. Lambton) would, however, venture to deny. In the first place he would beg the noble Lord to recollect, that in the ancient days of our history, a standing army had been perfectly unknown; and secondly, that it was only in the 13th and 14th of Charles II. that the Parliament had authorised the power of the Crown to dismiss officers at its pleasure; thereby proving that they had never imagined that such a prerogative was inherent. If an officer committed any military offence, it was the rule of military discipline to try him by a Court Martial. If, therefore, his gallant friend had offended, let him be judged by the usual tribunal in such cases. The noble Lord knew well that the cause of his gallant friend’s dismissal had not been grounded upon any military offence, but simply because he had been present at the funeral of her late Majesty. The noble Lord had also said, that the power which the army had once assumed was written in letters of blood, and had formerly brought a Monarch to the scaffold. But the noble Lord, if he had given himself

the trouble, might have found some anterior causes which would better have accounted for the catastrophe to which he had alluded. He might have found out, that one leading cause which brought that unfortunate Monarch to the scaffold, was the severity with which he had exercised that prerogative, one branch of which the noble Lord had just held out to the admiration of the House. But the noble Lord had said, that his gallant friend had been in the same train with persons who had acted illegally. Now the sole object of his gallant friend, at Cumberland-gate, had been to pacify the irritated feelings of the soldiers.—No man held personal danger in more contempt than his hon. friend, but he could properly appreciate his own safety; and when he felt a ball pass almost close to his face, it was natural for him to look round. He had done so, and had seen a soldier reloading his piece, and it was at that period that he had made the observation to the soldiers, that they would disgrace themselves if they continued to fire. In making that appeal he had not assumed the tone of a Commander—he had remonstrated merely in the capacity of a private individual. Was there any man in that house who would not have acted so? Nay, he would put it to the noble Lord himself, whether he could have witnessed such a scene, and not have endeavoured to put a stop to it? It was the brightest praise of his hon. friend, that, amidst all the horrors of war, he had never suffered his humanity to lie dormant. It was melancholy that the House of Commons should now be called upon to discuss whether a gallant officer should be punished for having endeavoured to prevent the murder of his fellow-subjects. The noble Lord had alluded to the cases of the Duke of Portland and Lord Cobham, in 1734, as a justification of the proceedings against his hon. friend. The protest which upon that occasion had been entered upon the journals of the House of Lords proved that there were some Lords at that day who questioned the propriety of allowing the Crown the exercise of so important a prerogative. The grounds upon which the protest had been signed were, “ Because they considered that the power of removing military officers from their command, without assigning a cause for so doing, was a measure dangerous to the liberty of the subject; because the practice had become more frequent in proportion to the increase of military officers in both Houses of Parliament; because they conceived that by the adoption of this measure it would be in the power of the Crown to prevent a military Member of either House from entertaining a free opinion, and exercising an honest discretion.”—This protest had been signed by 36 Peers, and then had followed the protest of the two Lords themselves, which stated that they did not consider that the loss of their commissions had arisen from any breach of duty, much less from any want of affection towards his Majesty’s Government.

He felt certain that there was no Gentleman present who, after hearing the statement of his gallant Friend, could doubt that he was as guiltless of the charge of stimulating the populace to commit any outrage upon the soldiers as any man in that House. It was impossible that any man could doubt it, convinced as he must be, after hearing his gallant Friend declare upon his honor, that he had had no connexion with the

multitude—that he had but just arrived from Paris, and had had no share in the previous arrangements. He had, from the first expressed a conviction that his gallant Friend would clear himself from any charge which might be brought against him. He was now prepared to say, that his gallant Friend had not only cleared himself, but that the noble Lord opposite had failed in producing any ground of accusation. The noble Lord had contented himself with resting merely on the question of the Royal prerogative. Respecting the line of conduct pursued towards his gallant friend, he would say, that from first to last it had been a system of persecution. He now held in his hand the proof of a circumstance which showed how far that spirit of persecution would go. He must however, acknowledge, that he could not charge the instance to which he now alluded to the account of Ministers, because he had reason to believe, that at least some of them had expressed their disapprobation of it. Having succeeded in ruining the prospects of his gallant friend, having deprived him of that commission which he had purchased, and to which he had as much right as any gentleman present to his freehold, his persecutors had attacked him in another quarter. Soon after his dismissal from the army, a letter had been received by a member of his family from the Military College, at which one of his sons was placed, stating, that from the 3d. of October, an additional sum would be expected for the maintenance of the boy, and that he would be entered on the books of the college as the son of a private gentleman, because his father was no longer an officer. This circumstance proved the endeavour which had been made to carry the sting of persecution even into the family of his gallant Friend. Upon the general question he should only say, that he considered the treatment of his hon. friend as a part of that system by which several gentlemen had recently been made to feel the power of Government. He might instance the dismissal of Earl Fitzwilliam, who had offended by his impartial conduct respecting a public meeting, as well as the dismissal of Lord Fife, whose only offence had been the vote which he had ventured to give for the repeal of the Malt Tax. These, and other instances of a similar nature, proved that it was the tendency of the system now followed to introduce a military government, and to make the vote of those who depended upon the Crown subservient to the will of Ministers. He should be glad to know if this system was to continue, what would become of that high minded feeling of independence which had hitherto been the proud and peculiar characteristic of the British army? Were they to become the mere slaves of Ministers—to stand ready to attend to their beck, and to have every sentiment dictated to them? Wherever danger was to be braved, or difficulties overcome, his gallant friend had been found at his post; but whenever honors had been lavished at home, then his name had not been found. His services were well known, and they had been witnessed in all parts of the continent. He had always been, and was still, ready to exert all his energies in the service of his country—anxious alone for her service, and without any regard to personal consideration.

Mr. CALVERT agreed with the Noble Lord opposite

that it was an undoubted prerogative of the Crown to dismiss at pleasure any of its servants. But that prerogative might be exercised in an obnoxious manner, and it appeared to him that it had been so in the present instance. Upon entering the house, he had felt a strong bias against the gallant General, but having listened to the statement which he had made, he should feel it his duty to give his vote in favor of the hon. Gentleman. What grounds might be assigned for the harsh treatment which had been administered he could not say but he supposed that the old adage would be verified—"When you want to beat a dog, you may easily find a stick."

Sir ISAAC COFFIN lamented the situation in which the hon. Member was placed. Upon the whole, it appeared to him that, in the present instance, the prerogative of the Crown had not been improperly or harshly exercised.

Sir R. FERGUSSON:—Whether he was to be the next victim or not he did not know; but he would tell the noble Lord and his adherents, notwithstanding all the power which they possessed, that whilst he sat there he would give an independent vote. It was impossible for the house not to say that he had been most grossly treated. Upon the subject of prerogative it was not his intention to offer any remarks, but he did not know that that prerogative was not supposed to be exercised without the advice of Ministers.

Lord PALMERSTON explained. He had meant no sneer at the gallant general (Sir Ronald Fergusson). He had merely mentioned his adherence to opposition as a proof that Government was not in the habit of dismissing military men because they took that course.

Mr. G BENNET had been a witness to most of the circumstances which had taken place respecting her Majesty's funeral. He was one of the persons who had possessed sufficient soundness of discretion to remain in his coach, for he had from the beginning resolved that nothing should induce him to depart from the character of a mere witness. He could confirm the statement of his hon. Friend in all the particulars which had fallen under his observation. Granting, for argument sake, that the prerogative did exist, still it made the case no better, for the Crown would not act without the advice of its Ministers; and what his gallant Friend wanted to know was, who were the advisers by whom the measure had been recommended. He thought that the House would come to a resolution not to refuse that information, when they considered the cruel injuries which his hon. Friend had sustained. He was the more sanguine in this expectation, because it appeared that the noble Lord, the only speaker that had yet condescended to rise on the other side, had not brought forward one single charge in vindication of the treatment which his gallant friend had received. He had the good fortune to be well acquainted with his hon. Friend, and he would say, that if there was a person in England whose attachment to the profession of arms was perfectly romantic, and whose name was famous both at home and abroad, for all those qualities which were calculated to make the profession distinguished and honorable, it was his gallant friend. He was sure that his friend could not go out of England without meeting, in every part, persons whom he had formerly led to victory, and

who were disposed to pay him that honor which he so well merited, and which he received every where at home. His hon. Friend came before the house with all the rank and dignity which an honorable and successful service of twenty-nine years could confer. His belief was, that the offence committed by his gallant Friend had consisted in his refusal to turn his back upon the cause of his Queen. He believed also that he had committed another crime, in putting a stop to the shedding of blood. He was confirmed in that opinion by the treatment which Sir R. Baker had met with on account of his behaviour on that occasion. He was also confirmed in the opinion which he had given by the tone which had prevailed on this subject in what was called the upper class; for, from the expression of some sentiments which had met his ear, he was sure that an opportunity had been wanted to punish the people, and that because the chief police officer had removed that opportunity he had been dismissed. He would refer the house to a proceeding which had taken place when his Royal Highness the commander in chief of the army had unfortunately stood at their bar to answer charges which imputed to him misconduct in his public capacity. His Royal Highness had, on that occasion, addressed a letter to the speaker, desiring that he might not be condemned without a trial. Mr. Perceval had then said, that no person ought to suffer from a criminal charge, in life, or limb, or character, without having the charge against him delivered to him in writing, and without being heard in his defence. He wished to obtain an application of that sentiment to the case of his hon. Friend. Not only had no charge in writing been delivered to him, but no ground of accusation had been laid before the house. The hon. Member in conclusion said, that he thought he should be debasing the character of a gentleman if he did not lend every aid in his power to defend the prerogative of the Crown, if indeed it had been encroached upon; and that he should equally abandon that character if he countenanced an unjust or an improper exercise of that prerogative..

Mr. HUME. was anxious to offer himself to the attention of the house on this question, as he accompanied his gallant Friend on that day to which the motion referred. He witnessed the whole of his conduct on that occasion, not having been absent from him for ten minutes, and he could testify that the conduct of his hon. and gallant Friend was, throughout the whole of the transaction, most correct. The noble Lord (Londonderry) had, instead of confining himself to the question before the house, gone into the subject of the Queen's funeral, which, though it might have given rise to these transactions, had nothing to do with the decision of the motion upon which they were to decide. The noble Lord had talked of prerogative. What was it? Blackstone defined the prerogative of the Crown thus—“Prerogative is a discretionary power of acting for the public good where the positive laws were silent.” But the laws were not silent on this case. There were rules and regulations for the army which were supported by law. The army was, it was true, at the discretion of the King, but that discretion did not mean, the whim and caprice of his ministers.—(Cries of hear.)—The noble Lord had stated, that his hon. and gallant Friend

had no right to complain of the treatment which he had experienced, since there were at least two hundred cases in which the same exercise of prerogative had been made by the Crown. To such a statement he (Mr. Hume) would take the liberty of replying, that supposing it to be true, the sooner such acts of tyranny were put an end to, the better would it be for the country and for the army. Indeed, till some check was put upon this despotic practice, which the noble Lord had declared to be so usual, the army would not be placed upon that footing of respectability on which it ought to be in a country boasting of a free constitution.—(Hear.)—The noble Marquis said that Government had dismissed the honorable and gallant Officer, not merely on account of his interference with the military, but also because they were anxious to give every protection to the lives and property of the people. Why, it was that very anxiety which had led his hon. and gallant Friend to act as he had acted upon the memorable day of her Majesty's funeral; and strange to say, such was the monopolizing spirit of humanity which had seized upon his Majesty's government that they publicly dismissed him for having been animated by the same feelings which they themselves professed to entertain. At the time the firing and the cries of murder first commenced, he was riding with Sir R. Wilson in the rear of the Carriages. “As soon as I heard them,” continued Mr. Hume, “I turned round to Sir Robert Wilson, and said, for God's sake, Sir Robert don't let us go there.”—(Shouts of laughter from both sides of the house, with cries of Hear.)—I see what conclusion I am to draw from those cheers, but I can assure the house that it will not prevent me from those cheers, but I can assure the house that it will not prevent me from stating what occurred, or from doing what I conceive to be my duty. I foresaw the misconstruction which would be put on our conduct, if we approached the place where the firing was going on, and I was going to state it to my hon. and gallant friend, when his humanity, which other cowards dared not to practise (loud laughter again), hurried away to see whether he could not put a stop to the firing, and to the cries of murder.—(Cheers.) The noble Marquis has said, that those who had made themselves so busy on the day of the Queen's funeral were a remnant of a pitiful faction, that was anxious to keep up the spirit which some time before that occurrence had unfortunately agitated the country. Now he would ask the noble Marquis, who and what it was that had given birth to that spirit which he was then so loud in condemning? Was it not the ministers themselves (hear), by an act of oppression which was unparalleled in the history of the country, which had cast the foulest blot upon Parliaments that was to be found in their annals, an act of oppression which was not even terminated by the death of her who fell a victim to it? (Cheers.) He would repeat the expression—the course of insult and oppression which Ministers had pursued towards her late Majesty, was continued even after her death. (Cheers.) In her life they would never bestow upon her those marks of honor and attention which were, if not necessary, at least due, to the high rank and station which she occupied in the country; but on her death, as if in solemn mockery of her situation, they insulted her obsequies with the idle and

unnecessary parade of a military escort.—(Cheers.) The last persons to complain of the factious spirit which it was said had agitated the country, were the wretched and heartless drivellers who had raised it. He trusted that the time would come, when they would meet the condign punishment which they had merited by the numerous acts of oppression which they had committed towards her late Majesty; and he did not doubt but that he should see them called to the bar of the house to answer for their conduct towards that illustrious individual, as well as for their various other acts of enormity towards the people, if ever there should be such a thing as a reformed House of Commons.—(Cries of hear from the opposition, and loud laughter from the ministerial benches.) Gentlemen might smile, but many extraordinary things had recently happened—some of which were not half so likely as the event to which he had alluded.—(Hear, hear.)—Let that matter, however, be as it might, of one point at least he was sure—that, here or hereafter, Heaven would punish them for their oppressive conduct.—(Cheers.)—The whole case of his gallant friend and the ministry was now before the public, and, being so before it, he would leave the decision on it to the country. His own opinion of it was well known; instead of being shaken, it had been confirmed by what he had that night heard: and he must say, that unless the injustice which had been committed were redressed, there would be no single occurrence which could demonstrate so clearly as this absolute necessity of a reform in Parliament.—(Hear.)

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*Evacuation of Spain*

*March 19th, 1824.*

**Lord JOHN RUSSEL** rose. Before he said anything in support of the motion with which he had to conclude, he thought it necessary to say, that his proposition was not intended to lay the foundation of any charge against his Majesty's ministers on the policy they had pursued in respect to the contest in Spain. His opinion certainly was, that if at the Congress of Verona they had assumed that language that had been employed in the message of the President of the United States, or even had spoken in relation to Spain itself, as they had recently spoken as to the Colonies of Spain, that war would never have taken place; but certainly any time after the commencement of the last Session, it would have been absurd to have embarked in the contest. This, however, was now rather matter for historical discussion than for any consideration of practical policy. What he wished to bring into discussion—what he wished to hear from his Majesty's Ministers was, what the policy of the country now is, that, by a clear perception of our condition, we should not fall again into that difficulty in which we were lately involved, and in which, after a peace concluded amidst universal congratulations, and after a period of applause on one side and of silence on the other, it became a question whether or no we should plunge into a dangerous war, and were only deterred from it by the danger of hazarding an attack

upon so powerful an adversary (hear.) He had heard it objected to the motion which he had to propose, that the subject would excite no interest in the House. He could not believe this assertion to be correct. He begged those who felt no interest in the subject to look at what their situation was. His Majesty had told them, in his speech from the Throne, that he had continued to receive from all the Powers his Allies, assurances of their earnest desire to maintain and cultivate the relations of friendship. What was meant by the term Allies? Powers united by some common principle, and directing their efforts to some common object. The principle on which the Allies were united was subversive of the British Constitution; the principle on which Spain was invaded was subversive of British policy. Indeed from the time of Louis XIV. to that of Bonaparte, it was the favorite policy of the British Government to prevent the French from taking root in Spain. From the Battle of Blenheim and Villa-Vicosa, to those of Salamanca and Vittoria, the object of England was to prevent the establishment of French interest in the Peninsula. No longer than ten years ago, some of the best blood of England was shed in Spain, and now the French were in possession of the fields in which those battles were fought, and their flags waved on the battlements of Cadiz, Badajoz, or St. Sebastian, which we had spent our lives and treasure to win or to preserve. When every part of that great country was occupied by the French, who would say that this was a state of things that did not deeply interest Parliament and the nation? He should now proceed to state, first, how we had been brought to this state of things; secondly, the danger in which we were placed; and, thirdly, what remedies were to be found to avert those dangers. With respect to the manner in which we had fallen into these dangers, it was to be recollect, that after fighting for many years, with every change of success, but no variation of purpose, our adversary was subdued, the very elements seeming to favor the courage and perseverance of England. What was the result? A peace was concluded in 1814, renewed in 1815, and confirmed in 1818, resting on principles of policy new to the diplomacy of this country, and on bases indeed new to the world. The ancient policy of England had been described by Addison in lines of which the sense was better than the poetry—

"Tis Britain's care to watch o'er Europe's fate,  
To hold in balance each contending State,  
To threaten bold presumptuous Kings with war,  
And answer each afflicted neighbour's prayer."

Such was the commanding station which the Poet assigned to this country; but how humble was the tone—how humiliating the position which England had recently assumed in the politics of Europe. Instead of holding the balance between contending States, she had fallen from the lofty station which she once occupied—Instead of threatening bold presumptuous Kings, she had meanly truckled to the Holy Alliance—instead of answering each afflicted neighbour's prayer, she had treated every prayer that had been preferred to her with scorn and contempt. The first consequence of this policy had been the alienation of all those hearts which she had won by her struggle against the despotism of Napoleon,

and the dispersion of all those romantic ideas which might have been formed of the generosity of Great Britain. We had disappointed the hopes, and excited the indignation of every man who loved freedom and independence throughout Europe. It could not escape the observation of those who were accustomed to attend to the affairs of Europe, that an association of the great Powers of Europe, having separately distinct interests, but uniting for a common object, was peculiarly liable to abuse, and that when abuse grew out of such an association, it was peculiarly difficult to be corrected. Such a system was peculiarly liable to abuse, because Kings, like other Corporations, were apt to consider their own interests in preference to the interests of mankind; and the abuse was peculiarly difficult to be corrected, because, while there was a natural remedy against any undue encroachment on the balance of power, which it was the interest of all the Sovereigns to resist, there was none against an encroachment on the liberties of mankind, which they considered opposed to their own interests. In the year 1820, the Allied Monarchs issued a declaration, which had been admitted by the Marquess of Londonderry to be opposed to the fundamental laws of these realms, and by the Right Honorable Gentleman opposite (Mr. Canning) to strike at the root of the British Constitution. In that document the revolution of Spain was adverted to in the very first sentence, and the Holy Allies openly avowed that Naples was only first attacked because she was most easily subdued. He mentioned this, because it would be recollect'd that a year and a half ago our Ministers had no notion whatever that the question of the invasion of Spain would be discussed at the Congress of Verona. He mentioned this to shew how liable Ministers were to be deceived, and how steadily the Holy Allies pursued their favorite object of enslaving mankind, while those who were opposed to them were often asleep at their posts. He had already said that he did not mean to advert to the policy which this country had pursued in the late invasion of Spain, but he wished to call the attention of the House to the professions and promises of France—professions which had been so deceitfully made, and promises which had been so scandalously violated. He begged to refer to a passage in the dispatch of Sir Charles Stewart, in the month of February in the last year, where he states the sentiments of M. Chateaubriand on a passage in the Speech of the King of France. M. Chateaubriand is there stated to have said, that whatever might be the interpretation attached to his Majesty's expressions, by those who were determined to consider all measures recommended by his Court as proofs of the desire of France to re-establish an absolute Monarchy in Spain, his Excellency never could believe that the communications of the French Government with the British Cabinet could have been misunderstood to such a degree as to authorise such a supposition. Now, he begged the House to compare this with the passage in the Speech of the King of France, in which he declared, that it was the grossest calumny to suggest that the Sanitary Cordon was established for any other object than that of preserving the health of the nation (hear). Let the House bear this in mind, in considering the value of the representations which have been lately made by the

Prince de Polignac, with respect to South America. It was the policy of the French Government never to hesitate a moment in making any promises or professions, and never to hesitate a moment in violating them, whenever it suited their purposes. In doing this, they did but follow the letter of the instructions which Louis XIV. had left to posterity. That Monarch had declared, that Treaties were to be interpreted, like compliments, as meaning a great deal less than they expressed, and that the more express and decisive the words of the engagement were, the more proper and excusable it was to violate it. The French, on entering Spain, declared, that their sole object was to establish a Constitution less democratical than that which was then established, but at the same time fully securing the constitutional liberties of the people of Spain. It was important to take this point into consideration, if for no other purpose than because it furnished a key to the success of France in Spain. Passing from the conduct of France to that of the Spaniards themselves, it might be observed, that in carrying a Resolution into effect, there were two means of securing ultimate success. One was that adopted by the Revolutionists of this country in 1688, and which consisted in conciliating all interests, in giving a just degree of power to all orders, and in consulting the feelings and opinions of all classes in the State; the other was that pursued by the French Jacobins in 1793, which established an exclusively democratical Constitution, and which persecuted, by massacres and proscriptions, all other orders of the State. It was the misfortune of Spain to adopt neither of those plans. The Spaniards adopted the opinion, that a democratical Constitution, a Constitution emanating from the people, was best calculated to secure the happiness of the community; but while strongly attached to democracy, they were naturally generous and humane; and while they established a form of Government, which raised all the privileged classes against it, they were so far from imitating the massacres and proscriptions of the French Jacobins, that they behaved with the utmost forbearance and kindness to their opponents, and even suffered those who were notoriously disaffected to the Constitution, and endeavouring to destroy the independence of Spain, to go unpunished and unavenged. The consequence of this was, that these two great bodies were ready to join in a combination against the liberties of Spain—one consisting of the privileged classes, who were naturally opposed to a liberal order of things, and the other consisted of the lowest rabble and notorious violators of all law, who were encouraged by the Monks to join the army of the Faith. It was well ascertained, that mendicants and robbers of the worst description—men accustomed to plunder on the highways—that disorganised rabble which it was one of the bad effects of the ancient despotism of Spain to have created, filled the ranks of the army of the Faith. Some men there were, indeed, who had behaved in a manner worthy of the cause of freedom: the virtues and eloquence of many of the Constitutionalists—the patriotism of Mina—the equity and moderation of Alava, might almost redeem and purify the errors of less generous and consistent Allies. What was the result of the professions

of the French Government? Did they establish a Free Constitution in Spain? Did they give free institutions? Had they established any thing like the French Charter in that country? Nothing like this took place. He begged the House to compare the conduct of the French with their professions. The Duke of Angouleme, on entering France, issued a Proclamation, in which, after a great deal of the bombast, which is usually found in French productions, he declared, that the Spanish flag alone should float in all their towns. We do not pretend, said the Royal Duke, either to impose laws on you, or to occupy your country.—We wish only to effect your deliverance, and as soon as you shall have obtained it, we will return to our country, happy to have preserved a generous people from the mischiefs produced by revolution, which we ourselves known too well how to appreciate. Such were the professions of the Duke of Angouleme. He did not mean to say anything against the moderation and liberality with which the Duke of Angouleme behaved in his progress through Spain; but it could not be denied that that Prince, either from want of firmness, or from want of power, had violated all the professions which had been made as to the guarantee of Spanish independence, and had placed Spain in a state of most degrading slavery. In all countries, some few men were to be found capable of advancing the march of intellect, and of deserving the admiration of posterity by the cultivation of science, of the arts, of all that can liberalise and enlighten the human mind.

"Quique sui nemores alios fecere merendo."

True it was that such men were sufficiently disconcerted and depressed under the ancient despotism; but still they were not proscribed, because they might then cultivate the liberal arts in obscurity; they might seek knowledge in the pages of such heretics as Locke, Bacon, and Montesquieu, without necessarily exposing themselves to persecution. Now, however, every one of these men became known; every one of these men became the object of persecution to the Priests, and the rabble which they controlled. He had been assured that in many places in Spain, and especially in Saragossa, many hundred persons had been made victims to the misguided fury of the rabble, and that the eyes of men had in some instances been torn out in the Streets, because they wished for the independence and happiness of their country. Such being the situation to which Spain had been reduced, he now came to the question how far it affected the interests of Great Britain. He was aware it might be said that the acquisition of Spain by France was of no importance to the interests of Great Britain, and that the Holy Alliance had not power, even if they had the wish, of continuing their career of aggression, so as to affect the independence of this country. In considering the weight due to such an opinion, he must say that it received no sanction from the policy which had been pursued by this country since the period of the Revolution. The aggrandisement of France, pursued by the most unjustifiable means, might have been disregarded, or even made a matter of pecuniary compromise during the infamous reign of Charles II. but since the revolution the occupation of Spain by a French force would never have been con-

sidered as a matter of indifference to this country. Let the House look to the dire interest which France had in overturning the liberties of Spain. If Spain had been suffered to retain her free constitution, she would naturally, in the event of a war, have allied herself with this country; it was necessary for the purposes of French ambition to secure the French frontier on the side of Spain, and to bring the Cabinet of Madrid under the dominion of the Cabinet of Paris. The Holy Alliance was opposed to all free institutions, and above all to the free constitution of this country, and to the free discussion by which that constitution was maintained. If any illustration were wanted of the disposition of the Holy Allies with regard to this point, they had only to look to their treatment of Switzerland. Ever since the Peace of Paris that Power had no doubt received the most friendly assurances on the part of the Holy Allies, duly conveyed by the proper Ministers, yet Switzerland had been treated in a manner perfectly unprecedented in the history of Europe, and perfectly unjustifiable by any known international law. Persons who had received regular passports to leave their country, and who had proceeded to Switzerland, and had no sooner arrived there than that Republic was peremptorily called upon by the Holy Allies to send them out of the country. If Switzerland, which had been so noted for her independent spirit, and for her freedom of public discussion, and had consequently become an object of jealousy to the Holy Alliance, were thus treated, why, he would ask, was Great Britain differently treated? For what reason, but because the Holy Allies were conscious of our power. If the Holy Allies had the power to oppress us as they had oppressed Switzerland, they would not hesitate to exert it. They were fully aware that free discussion in newspapers at Geneva had not half the weight of the free discussions of the British Parliament, and of the Press of England. It was not surely the free discussion on his (Lord J. Russell's) side of the House which they feared; it was not merely the fearless eloquence of the Honorable Member for Westminster (Sir F. Burdett) which they dreaded; the speeches of the Honorable Member for Yorkshire (Mr. S. Wortley) and of the Right Honorable Secretary opposite (Mr. Canning), were considered by them to be quite as dangerous, and quite as favorable to the cause of Revolution as any of the most vehement speeches in the cause of liberty which were uttered on his (Lord J. Russell's) side of the House. He would mention another instance which shewed how much the Holy Alliance were disposed to criticise free discussion in this country. Among the causes of war with Spain, enumerated in one of the papers of Montmorency or Chateaubriand, it was alleged that France had been attacked by Spain through the medium of English Newspapers. This would, indeed, appear to be a much more justifiable ground of war against England than against Spain. With regard to the danger to which this country was exposed from the hostility of the Alliance, though he was far from being disposed to rate that danger too highly, he could not but think, that as long as Ireland remained in her present distracted state, this kingdom could not be considered invulnerable. Whatever the avowed disposition of the

Right Honorable Secretary opposite (Mr. Canning) might be to carry the Catholic question, if he was unable or under existing circumstances unwilling to give effect to his wishes, there was no permanent security for this country. The irritated state of Ireland was a constant source of danger and insecurity to this country. It was impossible that the people of Ireland should feel a cordial interest in the security of the Empire, when they saw one half of the Cabinet persecuting, and the other half betraying them; when they beheld an Administration going through the solemn mockery of urging their claims—agitating a question which they were unable to carry, and exciting hopes which they were unable to satisfy. Let it not be supposed, that introducing this question, he was opening a weak point to the enemy; there was no one point which was more constantly inculcated by the organs of the present French Government than that England was vulnerable through Ireland. The prosperity of this country was an object of constant jealousy to the party which was aiming at establishing the ascendancy of the Aristocracy in France—a party which was now uppermost in that country, and there was nothing at which that party aimed so much as the annihilation of the power—or of what was the source of our power, the Constitution of this country. This being the case, the means by which those designs might be best opposed, were next to be considered. The first and most obvious means were to break the confederacy; this, however, appeared to him to be perfectly impracticable. In the first place let the policy of Austria be considered. Austria had for 60 years been governed by fear; she had feared Frederic—she had feared Napoleon, and she now feared Russia. It was the constant policy of the Cabinet of Austria to impress upon Russia the necessity of putting down Revolution, since Russia might herself be easily overwhelmed by a military revolution. Austria, therefore, was pledged by what she considered her interest to all the objects of the Holy Alliance. France, from a similar dread of liberal institutions, had an equal interest in supporting the views of the Holy Alliance. The influence of the Cabinet of Russia in France was so notorious, that the French Ministers were well known to have acted in many instances under the direction of the Emperor of Russia. A million and a half of troops were ready to take the field to carry into effect the views of the Holy Alliance. Such a confederacy it would be impossible to break by embarking in a continental war. What was the line of defence, then, which sound policy pointed out to this country? Every country had a line of defence adapted to its peculiar circumstances, and the natural defence of Great Britain was in her navy. It was obviously the intention of the Holy Alliance to extend the same system by which the liberties of Old Spain had been overturned, to the States of South America. They had professed, indeed, to have no such intention; but their professions, in this respect, were as little to be relied upon as the professions they had made in regard to Spain. Persons who had the best intelligence as to the intentions of the Holy Alliance with regard to South America were satisfied that they would send no forces to South America. The Holy Allies were aware that such a step would not be tamely witnessed by the United States, or by this country. They would not, in-

deed, send troops to South America; but they would send Agents and Incendiaries to that country. They would sow discontent among the people. They would promote civil war. They would engage brother against brother, and Town against Town; in the hope that, worn out by dissension, they would, at length, apply for the mediation of some European Power, and be content to receive a legitimate Prince for their Sovereign; or, if this project should not succeed, that they would be involved in such a state of misery and distress as might effectually deter all other States from attempting to establish their independence. The plain way of resisting such an attempt would be for this country to declare, that as long as France holds a fortress in Spain, no attempts should be made on the part of Spain to reconquer her colonies, because Spain, under such circumstances, cannot be considered *sui juris*. The Right Hon. Gentleman opposite (Mr. Canning) had said, that Spain herself had a just right to make any attempts in her power to regain her colonies, but that this country would not suffer a third party to interfere. Now, if Spain were perfectly at liberty, there was nothing in the law of nations to prevent her from availing herself of the aid of a third party; on the other hand, if she were not *sui juris*, if she were under the control and dominion of France, the means which might be taken to reconquer her colonies, though ostensibly the efforts of Spain, would in effect be the efforts of the Holy Alliance. He should have wished that His Majesty's Ministers should have gone a step further, and have, in the face of the world, declared that Great Britain would not permit any succours to proceed from Old Spain across the ocean, for the subjugation of the South American States, while the Armies of France remained in the Peninsula [hear, hear?]. Let France withdraw her army and abandon Spain, and then it will remain to be seen whether the latter possessed the remotest chance of recovering her dominion on the American Continent. The Powers constituting the Holy Alliance had so long deceived us, that none, in his opinion, could longer confide in their assurances but those who were willing to be deceived. The language of this country ought to be, "We have been cheated by your professions; You have deceived us under false pretexts, and our conviction is, that your word is not to be depended upon." He knew there were Honorable Gentlemen so sensitive as to fear that any such avowal on the part of this country would lead to war. He must own that he was not disposed to believe in the probability of any such result. These Powers were too busily engaged in recruiting their finances to allow any such apprehension to have effect; they were too anxious to restore, by the aid of British capital, their dilapidated resources. We might with the fullest effect, have made the most explicit declaration. But he did believe that in four or five years hence, when those financial embarrassments shall have disappeared, then Great Britain will, perhaps, have to contend against those very principles which have now been successful against Spain. In the view he had taken of the question, he had not confined himself to any partial or narrow consideration of our own immediate interests; he had argued as it effected the great and permanent interests of the civilized world. The object of that despotic confederacy was to destroy every institution

that lifted man up to a superior nature, and reduce him to the level of the brute. "Conscientiam generis humani abolere arbitrabantur, impulsis insuper sapientiae professoribus, atque omni bona arte in exilium acta ne quid unquam honestum occurreret" [hear, hear, hear!]. Every feeling due to our own interests, to our ancient glory, to the happiness of the world, called upon us to oppose such a system, and, by so doing, we should not fail to obtain, as we should deserve, the lasting gratitude of the posterity of all nations [hear, hear!]. The noble Lord concluded with moving, "That there be laid before the House copies of all communications referring to the evacuation of Spain by the French Army."

Sir ROBERT WILSON expressed his solicitude to offer himself to the notice of the House on a question of the highest importance to the foreign policy of Great Britain, involving the dearest interests of ten millions of Spaniards, and collaterally affecting the future happiness of several millions of the people of Portugal. With that impression of its importance, he rose to support the Noble Lord (Russel) differing, however, in some points, persuaded that the promulgation of such sentiments as those which fell from him, must prove of the greatest value, not alone to the people of Spain, but to those of every nation whose independence and liberties were compromised by the success of the unprincipled aggression of France. Of that atrocious aggression, it was some consolation to think that no subject of a free country ventured to be a defender. Even success which, in too many instances, was wont to extenuate crime, had, in this case only added horror and enormity to the original offence. It was impossible—after the proofs the Government of France had unequivocally given of its policy—after the avowed intentions of the Holy Alliance—it was impossible, he thought, that a British Statesman could be found who did not view with jealousy and alarm the military occupation of Spain. For his part, he considered that occupation as a scandal to the character of Great Britain; and that at least the Ministers of the Crown were bound to afford to Parliament the fullest explanation on a question so intimately connected with our dearest interests. The Noble Lord (Russel) had justly observed that we should have declared broadly to the Spanish Government, that no interference would be allowed with South America, so long as the armies of France remained in the Peninsula. It was an omission, which, if the correspondence laid on the Table had supplied, would have made the conduct pursued by the British Government on that part of the question, highly satisfactory. He regretted that omission the more, in consequence of information that he had heard within the last twenty-four hours. It had been communicated to him that the Spanish Government had proposed to send an Ambassador to this country for the purpose of meeting the deputies from the South American States, and entering with them into an arrangement, with the view of obtaining for Old Spain commercial preferences. If that information was well founded, he should consider such an arrangement prejudicial to British interests, unbefitting the character of our Government to accede to, and most disreputable to the principles and policy of the South American Governments. It was their duty to reflect that they were contending, not alone for their

own interests, but that, in the issue of that great struggle, the liberties of the other states of the world were involved. For what commercial advantages did the Spanish Government propose to itself by such an arrangement? What, but the power to raise money, in order to be enabled to pay France for the continuance of its troops to subjugate its people? The inability to maintain that army from the want of resources on the part of the Spanish Government, though, perhaps, a slow, was likely to be an efficient remedy. But even that remedy would be prevented, if any such arrangement with the South American States was carried into effect upon the principle he had adverted to. If, on the contrary, it was made the basis of any arrangement that the armies of France should evacuate the Peninsula, such an adjustment would be highly honorable. All that the people of Spain demanded, was the power to regulate themselves. Relieved from the overwhelming power of the French army, if the people of Spain were deserving of liberal institutions, they would obtain them, or at all events it was most probable that the King would then feel himself under the necessity of fulfilling his engagements to his subjects. For he could speak within the fullest authority—authority that needed only to be mentioned in that House, to be received with the credit that his distinguished reputation merited—he meant General Alava—that King Ferdinand, when under no restraint, gratuitously pledged himself to a general amnesty, avowing at the same time that he disclaimed all political proscription, any vindictive re-action, and above all, that it was his determination to uphold all the pecuniary engagements of the Constitutional Government. He went further, by declaring his readiness to accede to a Representative system, if such should appear to be the wish of the people of Spain. What then was the natural inference from such a statement? It was this, that the Government of France alone prevented the Spanish King from fulfilling his solemn and spontaneous pledges. He (Sir R. Wilson) felt it but justice to the Right Hon. Gentleman, his Majesty's Secretary for Foreign Affairs, to declare that he believed no man more sincere in his hopes that Spain would have been able successfully to resist the aggression of France. He gave him credit also for a desire to preserve that strict neutrality which he professed, whatever conduct other parties might have pursued. But in making those acknowledgments, he (Sir Robert) heard with regret the Right Honorable Secretary assert, that the evacuation of Spain by the Armies of France, would be an event which, under existing circumstances, he should deplore, for the sake of humanity. No man would go further than he was inclined to restore peace and tranquillity to that distracted country; but he would never consent to purchase a temporary and partial benefit, at the sacrifice of the great, and permanent, and comprehensive interests, in which the happiness of the civilized world were involved (hear). As he stated before, it was the presence of the French Army that prevented that general amnesty which the King of Spain had promised, and which would to Spain be the best guarantee of returning peace. In the alternations of human events, humanity was not always a pacific quality—it sometimes

assumed, and necessarily assumed, a belligerent character. To the people of Spain we owed every measure of relief that their misfortunes needed, and that our power enabled us to afford.

We owed it to the acknowledged and ancient policy of this country, to recover that influence which had so long existed. Spain free was the natural ally of Great Britain [hear, hear!]. Spain enslaved could find no other connexion but in the arms of France [hear!]. He (Sir R.) had given the Right Hon. Secretary full credit for the sincerity of the intentions towards Spain when the odious aggression of the French Government was about to be carried into effect. He could not, however, extend his approval to the policy that was acted upon by his Majesty's Government at Verona. He knew well that there existed, both in the Aristocracy and in the commercial classes, a predominating opinion that no course ought to be taken which might possibly involve this country in war. Some there were who felt indisposed to the Spanish Constitution, because they conceived it not calculated for permanence from the want of a second Chamber. There was another, and he believed the prevailing party, who, though hostile to the aggression of the Government of France, and not disinclined to inflict the punishment it deserved, yet were still apprehensive, that if Great Britain interposed, France would have been thrown into a revolutionary attitude and the safety of the Bourbons endangered [hear, hear, hear!]. There was another course of policy which, happily for Spain and for our own reputation, this country might have pursued at Verona, and which he (Sir Robert) was prepared to prove would have been effectual. We might have protested without any menace against the principles on which the Holy Alliance had proposed to act, reserving to ourselves the right of subsequently taking that course which our own sense of duty indicated [hear, hear!]. That course, he was prepared to contend, would have been effectual. And why? Because if England had not avowed a determined neutrality—if she reserved to herself the power of taking any course of her interests warranted, after she had entered the protest against the principle, the Holy Alliance would have faltered [hear, hear, hear!]. They knew very well, that if Great Britain was disposed to prevent the realization of their views, there was scarcely an inhabitant of the many countries from the Niemen to the Adriatic, that would have rallied under its standard [hear, hear!]. The King of France was persuaded that he owed his Throne to the Prince Regent; he was indebted also to his good pleasure for the continuance of it. But when once British neutrality was avowed, from that moment all their fears vanished—from that moment the Despots of the Continent felt themselves freed from every difficulty. Then it was that France proceeded to combine in their attack upon the Spanish people a maritime and a military co-operation—then it was that blockading squadrons were sent against the ports of Spain [hear, hear!],—that Cadiz, Barcelona, and Alicant were shut up. He would put it to any Lord of the Admiralty in that House to say, whether if Great Britain had suspended her declaration of neutrality, a single frigate would have ventured out of any of the ports of France [hear, hear, hear!]; much less have commanded the Gut of Gibraltar, boarding every vessel,

English or otherwise, that were pursuing their destination. The moment the word neutrality escaped the British Ministry, then it was that the King of Spain had determined to throw himself into the arms of France, and that the treasons of Abisbal, Morillo, and Bollasteros, were generated. From that unfortunate moment also, dismay despondency, and despair, pervaded the Government and armies of Spain [hear, hear!]. He knew it had been said, that the Constitutional party of Spain, consisted only of a small fractional part of the population.—For the sake of the argument he would grant it hypothetically yet it was to be recollect, that if it was that fractional part, it comprehended all that was enlightened, patriotic, intelligent, and available in Spain. Whatever were the faults of the Constitutional Government, and he did not appear there as its advocate in all its measures, yet their efforts proved that they possessed hearts which qualified them to preside over the institution of a free state. Another objection was imputed to them on the score of religious intolerance. It was true that circumstances compelled them to declare an exclusive religion, yet there was not a man amongst them who was not persuaded that political freedom could not exist without religious toleration. It was this conviction that armed the Church of France against the free institutions of Spain—it was the aversion which that intolerant Priesthood felt that gave birth and vigour to the religious crusade against its independence. Theocracy they determined was to be maintained in Spain. For that purpose the unfortunate Emperor of Austria was induced to interfere—for that purpose the Emperor Alexander, no matter what his own religious doctrine was, was impelled to dictate, because he knew that wherever the Catholic Religion was exclusively dominant, it was a most efficient instrument in shackling not alone the minds but the persons of its notaries [hear, hear!]. But he denied that the Constitutional Party was that fractional portion of the people of Spain which some assumed. Its history, from the beginning to the subversion of the Constitution, proved that it was supported by a very considerable body of the Spanish nation. It was maintained by an army of 10,000 men. It was asserted to, because it was demanded by the people, by a reluctant King. When attacked by a foreign army, it occupied an army of 100,000 men for eight months to subvert it. But above all it required the intrigues of the Confederated Tyrants of Europe, and ten millions of gold, to be expended before its institutions were destroyed. But if there remained a doubt of its strength, the very existing state of Spain was the most unquestionable proof [hear, !]. If the Constitutional party were that contemptible faction, how come it that France continued her armies, and that its despotic flag waved over every fortress of the Peninsula [hear, hear!]. He was not one of those defenders of the Spanish people who was prepared to state, that in their defence of their country they had entitled themselves to the admiration of mankind—or even that they had satisfied all the hopes that the character of the struggle had induced many to form. But he did feel that it was of importance that their reputation should not be undeservedly depreciated. It was to be borne in mind, that the Spanish people, at the time of the French invasion, were not in a state of anarchy—that

they were subjected to a Government to which they had entrusted their protection."

That the Government on which they depended did not discharge its duty, he was prepared to admit. They had left the nation in a state of nakedness and impoverishment. They had unhappily provoked the Nobility by making war on its privileges, and exasperated the Church by a diminution of the tithes to one half. In making these charges he did not attribute to them any bad motive; but the effects were most unfortunate to Spain. Nay, they quarrelled with that very army which had established the success of the constitutional system. They did that to quiet the alarms of France—they did so, under the fallacious but honest hope of disarming the jealousy of the Holy Alliance. They acted, also, under that, in their case, mistaken impression, that a standing army was inimical to liberty (hear, hear). Perhaps he could not give a better description of the feeling that actuated the Spanish people, than by describing that spirit of which he was a witness, in the Isle of Cadiz, just previous to its surrender. That Isle, comprehending a circumference of 25 miles, a position that would require a defence of 25,000 men, was defended against the besieged army of France and its blockading squadron, after the capture of the Trocadero, by not more than 9,700. There was not a pallisade drove—not a chevaux de frise laid—not more than 15 dollars in the military chest, and scarcely five cannon fit for service; and yet on the day of the bombardment there was manifested not the slightest alarm amongst the population. Men, women, and children evinced the greatest love of country, and exasperation against the unprincipled invaders. No aspersion was more unjust than to charge the Spanish people with the want of firmness. They were capable of displaying the highest qualities, of feeling the most generous excitements, and of submitting to the most severe privations (hear, hear.) There was also another charge against them, which it certainly required an explanation to remove. He alluded to the deposition of King Ferdinand at Seville. Taking that circumstance abstractedly, he was ready to admit that to depose a Monarch for three days, and then restore him, looked very like an act of insanity. But he spoke with the high authority of General Alava, when he assured the House that that very act which had called forth such sarcastic remarks, was the very salvation of the life of Ferdinand. It was at the moment when the suspicion was generally felt of his intention to remove himself to the French army; and when under the increased irritation, it was the general conviction of every man of influence, that if any body of armed men presented themselves, it would be impossible to prevent a sanguinary act of vengeance. And yet that very measure, resorted to for the very purpose of saving his life, was made the unjustifiable pretext for proscription and exile. What confidence, then, he would ask, could be placed in the assurances of the Government of France, which sanctioned and encouraged such acts of oppression and cruelty? What dependence should we repose in a Government which basely denied its purposes, and refused every offer which this country had made of mediation? What

claim for confidence could France have in this country when we recollect that he who commanded its army in Spain, the Duke of Angouleme, by a violation of all those honorable feelings, the breach of which consigned the offender to the detestation of mankind—consigned, he would say, because he could have prevented it, the gallant, the patriotic, but unfortunate Riego, to the scaffold (hear, hear hear.) It was to the personal courage of Riego that the King himself owed his life; and, notwithstanding the pains taken to cast obloquy on the character of that great man, his name would live among those who had fallen in the cause of civilization and humanity; while the name of Angouleme and the murderers of Riego would be handed down to the latest posterity with execration (hear, hear). It had been said that Riego was guilty of cruelty, but that was not the fact. If it was, the French would not have been slow to publish it; nor would the Spanish Government be remiss in selecting such instances as would place it beyond doubt; but the whole was a gross calumny, designed to misrepresent the character of a Hero and a Patriot. He hoped, that the Right Hon. Gentleman (Mr Canning), instead of crediting such stories, or permitting his mind to be influenced by such impressions, would remember the character which this country ought to hold, and adopt means for placing her in that station which she had a right to assume among the Governments of Europe. The object of that great confederacy could no longer be a secret; the House and the world must be aware, that it was to establish despotism in Europe, and check the civilization and improvement of mankind—to establish a dominion over all States, and exercise that dominion to the injury and enslavement of the human species. He would now proceed to notice some points which, as they referred personally to himself, he could not approach without some feeling of anxiety. He had hitherto refrained from noticing the transactions of last year, in which he was himself concerned, not that he shrunk from the most open avowal of the conduct he had adopted; but because he was unwilling to force himself prematurely on the public attention. Even the public wrongs and private calamities which he suffered, became tolerable, under the conscious rectitude of his motives. But now that this question was regularly before the house, he owed it to his own feelings, and to the feelings of those in any way connected with him, to state how the matter stood. When an attempt was made to misrepresent and to defame him, he considered that he was bound, standing as he did in that House, upon a perfectly equality with any other member, to repel the charge, to meet the calumny, and vindicate his honor (hear, hear). For this purpose it would be necessary that he should make a short statement of his proceedings, calling, in the first instance, upon every Hon. Member to put his hand upon his heart, and say whether he would not feel pride, as well as regret, in resisting and exposing oppression, though he might regret the necessity of becoming the historian of his own achievements [hear, hear, hear!]. The insignia which he had received from the different Governments of Europe were conferred upon him, for services which they had repeatedly acknowledged. The first order with which

he was presented was the Order of Maria Theresa. It was given him by the Emperor of Austria, as a reward for the part which he had taken in an enterprise, the brilliancy and success of which had perhaps never been excelled as a military achievement. On that occasion, the Emperor of Austria, having advanced with a small party, found himself with his little detachment in the presence of two divisions of the enemy, who cut him off from the main body. While in that situation advices came from General Otto, that all was in danger of being lost, if the Emperor was not rescued immediately. The cavalry, with whom he (Sir R. W.) was stationed, rushed forward to the charge, and the enemy's infantry, after a vain attempt at resistance, were overpowered. The great proof of the success of this operation was, that the Emperor was rescued. The Emperor ordered a medal to be struck shortly afterwards, which he gave, together with the Order of Maria Theresa, to all the officers engaged, and he had the Emperor's letter in his possession which accompanied the medal and the Order. The letter requested that he would accept of both, as memorials of the approbation and lasting gratitude of his Majesty. The next Order was that of St. George of Russia, which was conferred on him by the Emperor in the field. Upon the same occasion, the Emperor took off a Grand Cross which he wore, and invested him with that order with his own hand, Lord Stewart being on the field at the time. Subsequently, he had the good fortune to be the first person who mounted the parapet of a battery, in the presence of the Emperor of Austria. Whilst breasting the battery, he happened to lose the Order of Maria Theresa, and the Emperor having understood the circumstance gave him the order again accompanied with repeated assurances of his favour and gratitude. The next order he received was the Red Eagle of Prussia, and he was anxious to make an exception in favour of that Monarch, to the observations which he might feel himself called upon to offer against others. Again, at the battle of Leipsic, when on the second day the Prussian Army was separated from the Russian and Austrian, he was concerned in dispossessing the French of an advantageous post, and the Emperor was pleased to express his approbation again in the presence of Lord Aberdeen, the British Ambassador; and to follow up his favours by giving him an advance of rank. At Antwerp, too, the Emperor and the Grand Duke Constantine said something, which it was not necessary to repeat at present; but he would leave it to that House to say, whether he had done any thing to forfeit these distinctions in the estimation of any candid man. What was the amount of infamy of which he had been guilty, that could justify the proceedings adopted against him? Was it for connecting himself with the cause of freedom—was it for wishing and endeavouring to defend the independence of nations—for advising and promoting, as far as he was able, union and concord between all parties—for saving many families, and acting not as a friend to anarchy and encroachment, but at the express invitation of the King himself to undertake the command of the army? Such were his crimes, and he would appeal with confidence to the House, the country, and the world, whether, though the Allied Sovereigns had taken the insignia from his breast, they had succeeded in stamping

shame upon his brow? [hear, hear, hear!]. With respect to the Order conferred on him by the King of Portugal, it was in consequence of the cruel and ungenerous treatment he had received that he determined to resign it himself. Accordingly he did so, but he was astonished to see it stated in an English paper, some time after, that he had been deprived of the Order, and the letter of the King of Portugal reclaiming it as referred to, the letter being ante-dated two days, for the purpose of depriving the act of its voluntary appearance. He might appeal to a Noble Lord to confirm this statement, but he would not do so; his own declaration was enough. It was far from his wish to adopt any severity of language towards the Sovereign of Portugal, whom he considered as a man "more sinned against than sinning;" but unhappily his Minister had persuaded him, in the case to which he alluded, to sign his name to a fallacy and a fraud. As to the seizure of his children by the Mayor of Calais, he would submit to the House whether it was not natural, that, as a father, he should feel the insult given to female children? France had done this, as a member of the confederacy, at the instant that the children were stepping on board. He understood that the defence made by the French Government was, that they had received information of a design being set on foot to make the children the bearers of some secret correspondence. As the reason thus avowed implied that there was some secret correspondence going on, he thought it but right to assure them, that he was concerned in no correspondence which he was not willing to have published to the whole world. But the motive could not have been that which was stated. If it was merely to prevent the conveyance of papers, they might have done that by searching the children while they were in the hotel; but insult was the object; and as a proof that it was, he could inform the House that a female attendant upon his daughters was expressly excepted from the search to which they were exposed. It was one of the most unjust, abject, unmanly, and base transactions that ever was countenanced by a Government. At the same time, if the French Government had made the smallest apology for their conduct, he would be one of the last men in the country to allude to it in this public manner, and he thanked the Right Honorable Gentleman (Mr. Canning) for the spirit and conduct with which he had acted on the occasion.

On the question being put, and no person rising to speak, there was a short pause, and strangers were ordered to withdraw. Before the Gallery could be cleared, however,

Mr. Secretary CANNING rose, and spoke to the following effect:—Naturally, Sir, I feel some surprise that the House should be called on to decide the question, before any reply has been offered to the Motion of my Honorable Friend, particularly after the menaces and threats of bringing forward an effective proposition, to the support of which, one hapless Motion has been sacrificed—and sacrificed so completely by all its promised supporters, as not to leave either ashes or bones, or any other memorial, of its unfortunate existence. There was no consideration and respect for the victim over the way (Lord Nugent)

who had been devoted on the altar of his country; nothing was to be done either in-doors or out of doors, because it was thought not prudent to break the effect of the impression now to be produced, by any diversion of the forces opposite, or any double Motion (hear, particularly from Lord J. Russell). I was taught, Sir, to expect a great debate, and is the Motion of the Noble Lord to end where it now is, and the Amendment of my Honorable Friend to pass without a struggle? I did not expect to see this disposition in the House, and did not suppose I should see this third motion of a series—not the last perhaps—to take away the recorded approbation of the House, settled and confirmed by the opinion of the country in favor of the Government, treated in the same way as the two former. We all recollect, Sir, that at this time last year, the Honorable Gentlemen opposite also were eager to bring the Government to trial—the debate was brought on under the most sanguine hopes of victory, triumph after triumph was predicted—and after the day of battle never was there seen such a defeat. *Exitis ergo ille est.*

"Hide, blushing glory, hide, Pultow's day."

There does not exist, Sir, in the whole records of Parliament, so complete a defeat, even as to argument; search where you will, Sir, you will never find a defeat one thousandth part so great as this, compared to the anticipation of success with which the contest was begun. Sir, on that occasion the general course of policy pursued by the Government received the approbation of this House. In this Session it has been the object of the gentlemen opposite to do away the value of that approbation; motion after motion has been brought on—parts of the conduct had been fixed on to do away this approbation, without opposing the general vote of last Session. The Noble Lord opposite brought forward his motion for certain papers, as an attack on part of the system, and he was left in the melancholy plight I have already described. To-night the Noble Lord opposite, selects another part, intending probably to suffer a similar disaster. If he meant in the beginning of his speech to state that it was not for the interest of this country that France should take possession of Spain—he stated only a self-evident proposition. It never has been, and never will be, the true policy of this country to allow of any such possession. But the real proposition meant by the Noble Lord is this: When the House decided that it was not right to undertake the war, they must have contemplated the possible occurrence of Spain being occupied by France. The question then is, if under any circumstances, or any chance, the occupation of that country has taken place, is it not a correct supposition that the attack on Spain was made for no other purpose? If the Noble Lord could make but this proposition, he might have some reason to call for the interference of the House. If this is not the case, he can only, as a general proposition, appeal to Parliament to consider the conduct of France generally; and only on this general ground could he call on Parliament to interfere. The motion of the Noble Lord ought to have been to address the King of France to withdraw his army from Spain. This would have brought the question to a tangible shape. The Noble Lord's motion implies, and he sets

out in his speech by stating that no confidence can be placed in the assurances of France, and then he asks the House to agree to a motion to get such assurances. If the assurances are worth nothing, why has then the Noble Lord sunk below his own opinion in moving for assurances which he seemed to think unworthy of belief? The question for the consideration of the House is, has the Noble Lord laid any Parliamentary ground for the production of papers? As the case now stands, he presumes that there are such papers, and I will consent to argue the question with him either way, that there are such papers, and that there are not. I will suppose that there might be one, two or three assurances of France as to that occupation which has grown out of the war, and that these assurances actually look forward to the moment when that occupation shall cease. If they could be produced, would not the Noble Lord say he was afraid the House must look for something better than them as a security for the evacuation? Suppose, then, no such assurances have been given, because none have been asked, how shall I defend myself? At the outset, Sir, of this dispute between France and Spain, it was stated, that we should preserve the character of neutrals under three conditions; the first was, that Portugal should not be attacked; the third (to take them somewhat out of order) was, that there should be no attempt to interfere with the South American Colonies; and the second of these conditions was, that Spain should not be military occupied. Then, Sir, I say, it was clearly stated—and no man who is acquainted with the language of diplomacy will deny this—it was clearly stated what would be the consequence of any breach of these conditions. Admitting, Sir, that one of the conditions have been passed over; that it should turn out that the Country and the Government have been duped, and sat quiet and at ease, there will then be some reason to argue that the Government has been duped and cheated in the others. But if of the three conditions two have been brought to issue, and we can judge of the results; if Portugal has remained unattacked; if, in the documents laid on the Table there is satisfactory evidence that the conduct of France has not violated the condition as to South America, I would ask, Sir, seeing two of the conditions out of the three have been observed, what right the Honorable Gentleman can have to call on the Government for a prompt decision as to the third? Sir, might it not have happened three months ago, before the prospect of our affairs with South America was so far matured that the Government could produce the papers which have been laid on the table, that we might then have taunted with two of the conditions of our neutrality not having been fulfilled and then our arguments would have been much weaker than they now are? But now, Sir, I can appeal to the fulfilment of two out of three conditions, and I say that this gives me a right to call on the House to repose confidence in me, that the honor of the country will be carefully guarded as to the third condition; and I have a right, Sir, to call on the House not to press forwards a premature discussion. I think this, Sir, particularly, because facts prove and assurances prove that France has no disposition to occupy Spain. I may

be supposed, when I declare it, a very weak man, ready to be duped by every body, but I do declare, both as a Minister and an individual, that I am satisfied France is most anxious to give up the occupation. I am more satisfied of this being the case than convinced of its propriety. If it were put into my hands to decide, I will not say that I should recommend to march the French army out of Spain. The Gallant General has asked, is France to remain in possession of Spain till the Liberal party and the Constitution are restored? I say, in one sense, would to God she might; and, in another sense, God forbid, Sir, she should. I say, Sir, God forbid she should, because I look at the period to which the Gallant General has alluded, as far distant; but I say, Sir, I wish France may remain in the occupation of Spain till that country is more restored to order. Whatever there is of peace in that torn and divided country, whatever there is of suspension of actual conflict, whatever there is of prevention of all the horrors of civil war, is all owing, Sir, I am persuaded, to French influence, backed and supported by the French army. This does not do away the original sin of the invasion. I owe it, Sir, to France to say, though it will not repeat what I before said, that her original system was vicious; still, Sir, I owe it her to say, that short of every other extreme but war, her conduct has been good. I am bound, Sir, as an honest man, to say that history does not tell of any army so extensive as that which France sent into Spain—no, not even of an allied army passing through the country of friends, which inflicted so little evil on the country as the French army inflicted on Spain. Never, Sir, in this world did an army inflict so little mischief and prevent so much. On this ground, Sir, I think we may confide in the discretion of the French Government to withdraw its army; and I believe I may say, that the period fixed for that evacuation is shorter than even the Honorable Gentleman opposite can reasonably, or even possibly hope. I do not think, Sir, with some of the Gentlemen opposite, that the disposition of the French force in Spain gives us any cause to fear. The Honorable Gentleman who spoke last on that side has given on this point a means of meeting the arguments of my opponents, which I was not before aware of. Sir, it is to us of peculiar importance that the harbours and ports of Spain should not be militarily occupied by France. But the Honorable Gentleman has stated that it requires 25,000 men to garrison Cadiz, and not half this force—no, I believe, not a fourth of this force is at present there. If this place were to be occupied militarily, then a much larger force would be necessary. Cadiz too was the root of that Constitutional party which brought about the late Revolution; it is a sort of rival capital which it is necessary to occupy to prevent civil war, and to preserve peace. The occupation of Badajos has also been selected as a proof that the occupation of the country is to be permanent. But I can state, Sir, on the authority of the most accomplished and consummate General of this age, that he should not consider it safe to occupy one of these places without occupying the other, and the occupation of Badajos is necessary for the occupation of Cadiz. I ask, now, if there is any thing in the conduct of the French which shews any disposition to over-rule and govern Spain?

The charge which is now made against the French is, that the Spanish Government does this, and does that; the amnesty is granted, and the fanatical party is kept down. It is very singular, Sir, and well worthy the attention of the House, that this party is now kept down by the French. They do not oppress and insult the Liberals—the party against which they entered Spain to make war, and destroy; but such changes have gone on, that those who were their enemies when they entered Spain, now look on them as their protectors; they have changed situations, and the Constitutionalists look to the French for protection, and the fanatical party wish them away. How long this may be so, it is impossible for any human foresight to predict. Already, Sir, a better system has begun to prevail in the Government of Spain, and when the time comes that it may be well safely left to itself, there will be no want of a disposition on the part of this Government to enforce the observance of the third condition, and no want of will in France to withdraw her army, greatly, no doubt, to the satisfaction of the Noble Lord. In what I have said of France, which may appear too favorable to some Gentlemen, I declare I have only done what I conceive to be justice. On the motion of the Noble Lord concerning our neutrality, I took no part in the debate. But I can now say, that the greatest impediment to our neutrality was thrown in the way by the greatest stricklers for neutrality. I will put the case, Sir, of two heads of families disposed to agree with each other, and to preserve harmony between all the branches of their respective dependents; and I will suppose, Sir, that some of these dependents are continually representing the conduct of one of the heads of these families; even while they are always praying for the preservation of harmony, as being outrageous, and violating all the known and approved laws of society; and I will ask, Sir, if such conduct would not tend to disturb that harmony, and destroy that neutrality they pretend to wish preserved, and guarded with such anxious care: Now, I would put it to the feelings of any man of honor, whether, if he found his professions of neutrality and good faith had been called in question, he would not be disposed to go a little further than he had originally intended, to prove his sincerity. I can assure the House, that amongst the various and conflicting interests which were involved in the late disturbances in Spain, the difficulties which the British Government has had to contend with have been most imperfectly estimated [hear, hear!]. No man in this House could have heard with more respect and sympathy than myself the speech of the Honorable—I will call him my Honorable and Gallant Friend; for although the forms of discussion exclude its exercise, I can have no wish to disavow the sentiments of kindness and regard I have always entertained for him [cheers]. But, without meaning to cast the slightest reflection upon my Honorable and Gallant Friend, I must assure him, that amongst the many difficulties which the Government has had to encounter, he individually was one of the greatest impediments to the observance of a strict neutrality. My Honorable and Gallant Friend formed in himself no small breach of neutrality, but I can assure the House that the Noble Lord

opposite (Lord Nugent) was a most enormous breach (roars of laughter). I well know how strange it may appear in those times of modern liberty to direct the attention of the House to authorities which may be considered obsolete; but I should wish to read to the House an extract from the writings of an eminent writer on the law of nations; and in limine I wish to apprise them that it is not a Bynkershock. It may be necessary that I should explain what I mean by a Bynkershock. I remember that some few years back, a very important discussion took place in this House, upon which occasion my Honorable and Learned Friend opposite (Sir J. Mackintosh) quoted, in support of the opinions he advocated, the authority of a name (a more modern authority than that of Vattel, which I mean to cite) and I recollect I was very anxious to discover whether the favorite author of my Learned Friend was speaking the sentiments of the States of Holland, to which he was Secretary, or was delivering his own abstract opinions. However, in some short time after, I laid my hands upon the work, and to my astonishment I found that they were merely the opinions of the writer, and that the practice of the States to which he was Secretary, was quite the other way (hear, hear.) So that henceforward, whenever I find a man who lectures upon the policy of a State, and puts forward his own individual opinions instead of the laws of the country which he professes to expound, I think, I shall invariably call him a Bynkershock (a laugh). Now, Sir, hear the opinions of that eminent Jurist, Vattel, to whom I have already alluded. He says, "As nature has given to men the right of using force, only when it becomes necessary for their defence, and the preservation of their rights, the inference is manifest, that since the establishment of political societies, a right so dangerous in its exercise no longer remains with private persons, except in those kind of rencontres where society cannot protect or defend them. In the bosom of society, public authority decides all the differences of the citizens, represses violence, and checks the insult of revenge. If a private person intends to prosecute his right against the subject of a foreign power, he may apply to the Sovereign of his adversary, or to the Magistrates invested with public authority; and if he is denied justice by them, he is to have recourse to his proper Sovereign, who is obliged to protect him. It would be too dangerous to give every citizen the liberty of doing himself justice against foreigners, as every individual of a nation might involve it in a war. And how could peace be preserved between nations, if it was in the power of every man to disturb it? A right of so great moment, the right of judging whether a nation has a real cause of complaint; whether its case allows of using force, and having recourse to arms; whether prudence admits, and whether the welfare of the state demands it: this right, I say, can only belong to the body of the nation, or to the Sovereign, its representative" (hear, hear!). Now, in other times, I should not have felt it necessary to support this opinion by reference to authority; but it was satisfactory to be able to produce authority when the principle is disputed. Here we have the Sovereign on the one hand, and the body

of the people on the other, pledged by Parliament to the observance of a rigorous neutrality (hear, hear, hear.) I do not wish to introduce into the discussion any technical niceties of law, but I would just suppose ourselves placed in the situation of a Foreign Power which had received assurances of strict neutrality; and let us then consider what we should have felt under similar circumstances. There was France with an armed force in the Spanish territories; a distinguished individual arrives upon the Spanish shore, from a nation whose King had pledged himself to strict neutrality between the Belligerent Powers, which pledge was sanctioned by Parliament. This individual arrives with sentiments of avowed hostility, and announces that he shortly expected to be joined by an army of 10,000 men. To be sure, Sir, we all very well know that the 10,000 men were not likely to join their supposed leader; but let us only consider how such a Proclamation must have been regarded by the Foreign Power (hear, hear.) I can assure the House, that his arrival at Corunna materially altered the course of the war. Just as the application of a plaster to the foot brings down the gout from its more elevated station, did the blister which my Honorable and Gallant Friend applied to the French Government on his arrival bring down the war to Corunna (a laugh.) His high spirit of gallantry and prodigal expenditure of himself must always redound to his honor, in whatever cause it may be exercised; but it is the duty of Governments to contemplate these events with a more serious eye; and if France did not remonstrate, it was the more incumbent upon us to shew that we were no party to any proceedings that bore even the resemblance of a violation of neutrality. It actually became necessary for the Government to disclaim any such connexion, which, pro tanto was a humiliation to the Government; but it was indispensably necessary, and yet, pro tanto, it rendered the situation of this country less commanding [hear, hear!]. And when the Government was accused of not assuming a sufficiently high tone, I would say to our accusers, "Do you take care that you leave us nothing to excuse [loud cheers]." Nothing makes a man appear more small and contemptible, than to be extenuating in one breath and blustering in another [cheers]. Now, I'll tell my Honorable and Gallant Friend the situation to which he reduced his Government. I was certainly not called upon by France to make any disclaimer or disavowal of the proceedings in which he was engaged, but I felt it due to the honor and good faith of the nation at large, to avoid even a suspicion of violating the neutrality to which we were pledged [hear, hear!]. Accordingly I wrote a dispatch to Sir Charles Stuart, stating "you cannot disavow in too strong terms any participation on the part of the Government in the proceedings of \_\_\_\_\_ [The Right Hon. Gentleman omitted the name, and passed on to another sentence]. This disavowal you are authorized to make, not only on behalf of the Government generally, but of every individual composing it." One of the Circumstances which rendered this step necessary was, that my Honorable and Gallant Friend did me the honor to send home his dispatches under my cover; and if he had supposed that in so doing, they would be quite

secure from violation, he only did me justice [hear, hear, hear!]. But this circumstance, which of course was well known, was productive of great inconveniences under existing circumstances. The dispatch went on, "at the same time, every man has a right, according to the law of the nations, to enter a volunteer in any foreign army; such service has been justified at all times in all countries; nor does it subject the person of him so serving to any penalty or prejudice." So that my Honorable Friend will see, that in this dispatch I was not inattentive to his personal security [loud cheers from both sides of the House]. But as it was of the last importance that the good faith of the nation should be above suspicion, I conceived that the French nation, as the belligerent power, was entitled to this explanation. It was not the least inconvenience to which my Honorable Friend had subjected the Government, anxious to uphold the character of neutrality, that they were driven to the necessity of this disclaimer. A Government so situated was not at liberty, its arms were fettered—its march was retarded—its language must be lowered (hear, hear.) But scarcely had the unfortunate result occurred to my Gallant Friend, in consequence of his prodigality of personal security, with which the House was acquainted, when the Government was placed in a still more embarrassing situation from a question which arose in another quarter, in consequence of the arrival in Spain of another distinguished Englishman who, although he did not produce so much military effect, yet, as I am informed, did certainly exhibit full as much military intention (much laughing.) It is the duty of a wise and a vigilant Government to be acquainted with what is passing in the country, and I can assure the House that I would not relate the circumstances which they shall presently hear, if I were not in a condition to adduce most respectable evidence of their authenticity. Then, Sir, about the middle of the month of last July, the heavy Falmouth Coach (roars of laughter)—yes, Sir, the heavy Falmouth coach, in the month of last July (a laugh) was observed to proceed to its wonted destination with more than its usual celerity (much laughing). The coach contained two passengers, the one a fair Lady of considerable dimensions, the other a Gentleman, who was about to carry the succour of his person to the struggling patriots in Spain [continued Laughter]. I am further informed, and this interesting fact, Sir, can also be authenticated, that the heavy Falmouth van, which Gentlemen, doubtless, are aware is constructed for the conveyance of more cumbersome articles (not of the human species, certainly),—[loud laughing from all sides of the House], was laden upon the same memorable occasion with a box of most portentous magnitude. Now, Sir, whether this box, like the flying chest of the conjuror, possessed any supernatural properties of loco-motion, is a point which I confess I am quite unable to determine; but of this I am most credibly informed, and I should hesitate long before I should state it to the House, if the statement did not rest upon the most unquestionable authority, that this extraordinary box did contain a full suit of Spanish uniform, together with a le'met of the most curious workmanship; but Sir, allow me at the same time to add, considerably inferior in size to the fabled helmet

of the Castle of Otranto [loud and continued laughter]; The idea, perhaps, of going to the relief of a blockaded post in a full suit of light horsman's equipments, was, perhaps, not strictly consonant to modern military operations. However, almost at this time the arrival of, the promised force of 10,000 men, which never existed except on paper, was hourly expected, and would have, been most acceptable; and when the Gentleman and his box had made their appearance, the Cortes were overwhelmed with joy, and rubbed their hands with delight at the approach of the long-promised aid. In, fact, he knew nothing in ancient or modern history that could at all compare with the joy which was expressed on the occasion, except in the play of The Rehearsal, which was written by the Noble Lord's great ancestor, George, Duke of Buckingham, when the two Kings of Brentford are informed "that the army is at the door, but in disguise, and are quite ready to wait upon both your Majesties" (loud laughter.) What the Noble Lord might not have done, had not things come to so rapid issue, is more than I can say; or how far the throwing of his weight into one scale might cause the other to preponderate; however, as I had already expressed the opinion of the Government on the general principle in the case of my Honorable and Gallant Friend, I had no wish to multiply, in the eyes of the French Government, circumstances which bore the appearance of suspicion, and which could, when explained, add to our humiliation (hear, hear, hear.) The Noble Lord who has opened this discussion has suggested another difficulty with reference to another part of this question. He says that if, during the military occupation of Spain by France, a Spanish force should sail for South America, that would be, to all intents and purposes, a French squadron. Now this, I admit, would be entirely a question of degree, and then would arise the consideration, whether the occupation had been prolonged for one object and not another; and I would add, that should there appear any extensive levy of Spanish troops, I shall consider it a circumstance which would require examination and explanation (hear, hear.) But we have now to deal with things as they stand; and I see nothing in the amount of the French force—I see nothing in their quality or distribution, or in the mode they have hitherto employed them—I see nothing in the Spanish councils, whatever vapouring declarations may be made by some Members of the Government—I see nothing, in short, in present appearances, that could induce me to suppose that there was any such project on foot as the subjugation of South America. From the papers which had been laid upon the Table, it would be seen that there was a great approximation between the French and English Government in respect to their views relative to the South American States. With those who persevered in stating that they would place no reliance on the declarations of the French Government, there was no arguing; but, sounding my own opinion of their sincerity upon the declaration of the French Ambassador, who, I am persuaded, from the knowledge I have of him personally, would not, under the dictation of any Government upon earth, state any thing that he did not believe to be true (hear, hear.)

I am satisfied that the French Government, if they do not think precisely with us, yet do approach our opinions more nearly than any other Power in the world. I confess that as to the apprehensions entertained that other members of the European confederacy look to South America with a view to interfere between Great Britain and France on the one side, and South America on the other, the idea appears to be preposterous. They have not the capacity to accomplish such an object, even if they entertained it; and I believe they see the folly of such an undertaking, and the advantages which arise from letting these States enjoy their tranquillity.

"Stabant orantes primi transmittere cursum

"Tendebantque manus ripæ ulterioris amore."

(cheers.) Upon these grounds, Sir, which I have stated to the House, I submit that the Noble Lord has made out no case, and I think my Honorable Friend behind me (Mr. Littleton) although it does not become me to say so, has pursued the prudent course in justice to the Government. When a charge of suspicion is mooted unjustly, it should be met with a satisfactory vindication. But if the House should think that they have reposed their confidence in the Government improperly, he should not endeavour to prevail on them to express their approbation; but if they were willing to repose still further confidence, all suspicion should be removed fully and honorably. If the House should be of opinion that the Noble Lord had made out no prima facie case of suspicion that there was an intention, on the part of France, to effect the permanent occupation of Spain—that, with respect to South America, the British Government would not consent to that or any other violation—if there was no ground for such an imputation, then must they vote against the Noble Lord; but, further, if the House should think that the Motion had been brought forward lightly, and that the imputation which it contained should not only be fixed but repelled, then the House should go a step further and express their confidence in the Government for the future. (The Right Hon. Gentleman sat down amidst loud cheers.)

Sir R. WILSON explained: He said he could assure the Right Honorable Gentleman, he had no wish whatever to abuse his courtesy, or subject the Government to any inconvenience, by sending home dispatches through his office, all of which came opened.

Mr. CANNING said he acquitted his Honorable and Gallant Friend completely of any such intention; he knew he did so, not merely for security, but in a spirit of fair dealing (hear.)

Sir JAMES MACKINTOSH then rose to address the House, but in consequence of the noise which prevailed, his opening sentences were not distinctly audible in the Gallery. He said he did not rise to contend with any man for the palm of eloquence, he rose with great personal inconvenience, to discharge what he conceived to be his public duty. His Right Honorable Friend had alluded to a quotation which he had made some years back from the writings of a great jurist, but he made a slight mistake in stating that the word was more modern than that of Vattel, for it so happened that Bynkershock had been dead for some years before Vattel published his book (hear, hear.)

Upon all questions of international law, there was no higher authority; it was no mean praise to him that he had been for 26 years President of the Supreme Court of Leyden, the Chief Judge of the Supreme Court of a country, which of all others in Europe, was the most distinguished for its learning, and particularly on subjects relating to the law of nations. It was not his intention to follow his Right Honorable Friend into his digression respecting Vattel. He thought the quotation from that author was quite impertinent to the subject they were discussing, nor would he stop to point out the contrariety between the doctrines of Vattel, and the opinions contained in the very excellent dispatch of the Right Honorable Secretary, which he had read to the House. Before he proceeded to the subject which was immediately before the House, he wished to perform a very agreeable duty; it was, to express the satisfaction he felt at the generous and eloquent sentiments which had been expressed by his Right Hon. Friend and the Hon. Gentleman opposite (Mr. Littleton) towards his Gallant Friend (Sir Robert Wilson)—(cheers). He had never enjoyed more pleasure in his life than at the manner in which they had expressed such just and generous sentiments, and the feeling with which their encomiums had been received by the House [cheers]. The Right Honorable Gentleman had amused the House a good deal at the expence of a Noble Friend behind him, but he was persuaded there was no man in that House who felt less disturbed and irritated than his Noble Friend, for he possessed more real good humour, and could bear taillery better than any man of his acquaintance—His high sense of honor, his generous and exalted feelings, and his disinterested purity of principle, had procured him the esteem of all who knew him [cheers']. Even his short residence at Cadiz had enabled him to render much service to that unfortunate country, and to rescue from the fangs of tyranny some of the most valuable lives in Spain. [cheers]. If, then, he even had offended against some of the texts of Vattel, or even of his more Learned Friend, Bynkershock, he was sure the House would extend some indulgence, when they knew the natural virtues of his heart, which could not disgrace the English character, which could not sully the high character of the illustrious family to which he belonged, or the equally high individual character which the Noble Lord Himself maintained [hear, hear!]. But to return to the question, his Right Honorable Friend had talked a great deal of having the confidence of the House of Commons. He could assure his Right Honorable Friend, that an eloquence much less fascinating and irresistible than that which he possessed in so eminent a degree, would be sufficient to secure the plaudits of the majority of the House of Commons [loud cheers]. He well knew of what materials the majority of that House was composed [continued cheers], and he was not at all surprised that they should now sing the song of their own votes. The army which the Right Honorable Gentleman had himself commanded, were assembled, it would seem, to celebrate their mutual triumph. The Right Honorable Gentleman had appealed to the Jury, who (he would not say had acquitted him), but to the tribunal which had passed judgment in his favor, and he had received

the most rapturous applause from them for the eloquent manner in which he commemorated their favorable sentence upon himself [cheers]. It required a very moderate share of oratorical power to prevail upon the Athenians to bestow the palm of eloquence on him who pronounced a panegyric on Athens [hear, hear!]. But all this was not sufficient for the Right Honorable Gentleman, for he was not satisfied with celebrating his real triumphs, but he raised up imaginary contests, in order to enjoy the delight of imaginary victories. He had talked about the boasts which were made last July, on that side of the House, and the anticipations which were felt of success. But he could assure his Right Hon. Friend that he and his friends knew too well of what stuff the majorities of that House were composed, to entertain any such expectations [cheers!]. But he would tell the House the reason why they had not divided the House on the occasion which had been alluded to: it was, because the amendment proposed by the Honorable Member for Yorkshire (Mr. S. Wortley) differed so little from the proposition which had been submitted from his side of the House, that it would be inadvisable to create a division, least an impression might be created abroad unfavorable to Spain. They had the cause of Spanish independence, which was then just dawning, too dearly at heart, to run the risk of injuring it in the slightest degree. They considered that sacred cause superior to any consideration of domestic contention about parties at home [cheers]. They might have divided as usual, there was nothing to prevent them. They had lost none of their old friends—their numbers were not diminished. It had been asked triumphantly by the Right Honorable Gentleman, why nobody rose on the present occasion on this side of the House? The reason was this—that no answer had been given to the speech of his Noble Friend, and the Right Hon. Gent. seemed anxious to court hostility, as if not satisfied with the celebration of his three imaginary victories; and failing in his purpose, he ascribes hostility to those who altogether disclaim it. His Right Hon. Friend told the House that France was solicitous to evacuate Spain. Now, would his Right Honorable Friend be able to persuade the House of Commons that such was the fact? Certainly, his Right Honorable Friend might do so; for his eloquence was great—his authority was great—his influence was great. But if his Right Honorable Friend succeeded in persuading the House of Commons that France was anxious to surrender the ascendancy she had obtained in Spain, that she was anxious to make Spain, at present dependent on her, independent, he would perform a miracle of conviction greater, perhaps, than any political Minister had hitherto achieved [hear, hear, hear!]. It had been said that there was no case. But besides the positive cases which were mooted in the dispatches of Sir C. Stuart, there was another in the very spirit of the whole transaction. There was the case of Spanish troops having been sent to South America, during the time that Spain was in the occupation of the French army. It had been admitted by his Right Honorable Friend, that if any considerable body of Spanish troops had been sent to South America while Spain was in the occupation of the French army, those troops must be considered as French troops. But the principle was

the same, whether the number of men was a hundred, or a thousand, or ten thousand. At the moment when the Spanish Government issued Proclamations asserting authority over South America, and avowing the intention of sending over a large military force, the presence of the French army in Spain must have given to those threats a weight materially affecting the security of the trans-atlantic Governments, and exposing them to all the evils resulting from the apprehension of a formidable attack. It was said that we ought not to publish to the world that we entertained any jealousy of the intentions of France on this subject. But who did not know already that such a jealousy must be entertained in this country? The French Government, aware of the ancient jealousy of the power of France cherished by us, he would not say as the natural enemies, but as the natural antagonists of that power, must know that we could not but entertain a jealousy of the permanent occupation of Spain by French troops, or of the effect which the detachment of Spanish troops, while Spain was so occupied, must necessarily have. But it had been said, why distrust France on this subject? It was impossible, however, for the House to know what the conduct of France had really been, unless the papers moved for by his noble Friend were produced. There was in no part of his noble Friend's speech any imputation on France; and if no imputation deserved to be cast upon that Power, why not produce the documents which would make that fact evident? The sole answer, however, by which all his Noble Friend's arguments had been met, was that his motion was hostile to his Majesty's Ministers. As long as his Majesty's Ministers resolved to consider every attempt to obtain an expression of the opinion of Parliament on any important State question—an attempt hostile to themselves, it was certainly a very short answer to give, that such a motion was hostile to the Executive Government. That was not the way in which he (Sir James Mackintosh) had learnt the Constitution, the House of Commons were not merely empowered to impeach Ministers, when they misconducted themselves, or to address the Crown for their removal; but they were to be considered the Great Council of the State, whose duty it was to advise his Majesty on all the most important concerns of the country, without its being necessarily implied, that in doing so, they acted hostilely towards the existing Administration [hear, hear].

Lord JOHN RUSSELL made a short reply. He reprobated the practice of, day after day, converting such motions as that which he had done himself the honor to submit to the House, into regular panegyrics on his Majesty's Government, and thereby pledging the House to the support of every act of that Government. With respect to the course which the Right Honorable Secretary for Foreign Affairs had thought proper to adopt on this occasion, he must say, that the Right Honorable Gentleman, by the tone and manner which he had assumed, had sought a species of applause which was wholly unworthy of him. The Right Honorable Gentleman had much better have employed himself in endeavouring to shew why the ancient jealousy of this country with respect to the influence of France on the Continent, and more especially in Spain, was no longer to exist.—

In conclusion, the Noble Lord said that he would not press his motion to a division.

The Amendment was then put and agreed to without a division.

THE LEEDS MERCURY,

27th March, 1824.

The speech of the King of France on opening the Chambers has reached us. It gives no definite information with respect to the two most important points which at present agitate the cabinets of Europe—viz. the occupation of Spain, and the affairs of South America. The mention made of the former subject, however, by no means bears out the expectation excited by Mr. Canning's speech, that some early period was fixed for the evacuation of the peninsula: on the contrary, the King intimates that a French army will occupy Spain, till that country is restored to tranquillity—an event apparently still distant, and which the French can defer at their pleasure. On the independence of South America no remarks whatever are made that bear meaning. It appears that the French Chamber of Deputies is in future to be elected septennially; instead of having one-fifth re-chosen every year, and the whole renewed at the end of every five years, as is ordained by the Charter: at least the King intimates that this proposition will be made to the Chambers, and in the present construction of those Chambers its enactment as a law is certain. The change will doubtless be found a convenience to the Court and the Ministers; and the time of making it is chosen quite felicitously, as the present Chambers are likely to give no sort of disquietude to the cabinet.

The Secretary of State for the home department introduced a bill in the House of Commons on Tuesday, to continue to government, for twelve months longer, the power they possess of sending foreigners out of the country at their discretion. We are unable to see any advantage whatever in an Alien Act, under the present circumstances of England and the continent; and the objection to it is, that it invests government with an arbitrary power, which may be abused to the vexation and oppression of many thousand persons. Mr. Peel contends that ministers ought to have the power of preventing foreigners from conspiring in this country against the tranquillity of other states. We are of an opposite opinion. The continental despots having leagued together to exclude freedom from Europe, and having for this purpose established a military and police system from St. Petersburg to Cadiz and from Berlin to Naples,—having, moreover, in pursuit of their tyrannical object, violated the independence of nations, and stigmatized the principles and practice of the English constitution,—and having thus far succeeded in destroying liberal institutions, and preventing free discussion,—we think it is the duty, and should be the pride of the British government to keep open one city of refuge in the old world for the persecuted friends of liberty, to allow them there to expose the tyranny of

which they are the victims, and even to concert measures for its overthrow. By pursuing an opposite course, England will co-operate with the Holy Alliance. If ministers are sincere in their detestation of the principles of this league, the Alien Act will be an encumbrance to them: for while they possess the power of expelling from this country individuals who may be obnoxious to the leaguers, it will be ungracious not to exercise it at their request; whereas they would not be troubled with applications to remove obnoxious individuals, if they had not the means of complying with them. Mr. Peel has one merit in this bill, which the acts passed under Lord Castlereagh's administration wanted: he has adopted the suggestion repeatedly made by Sir James Mackintosh to exempt from the operation of the act all foreigners who shall have resided seven years in the country. By this clause, 10,000 persons, out of 26,000 who before were liable to immediate expulsion, are protected; and to these the protection is very important, as they are probably for the most part settled in trade, and would be ruined by banishment. We do not understand why the present bill is to continue for the short period of one year. If an Alien Act is necessary now, it must always be necessary: never did circumstances less require or justify it than at present; and if ministers demand it at a time like this, they had better propose it as a permanent measure.

Mr. CANNING has become quite a glutton of popular and parliamentary applause. The House of Commons has on several distinct occasions, testified its approbation of the policy adopted by government in the invasion of Spain; yet the foreign secretary, not satisfied with these repeated encomiums, when Lord John Russel moved last Thursday for the production of papers relative to the occupation of the peninsula, insisted on receiving another panegyric. These complimentary and gratulatory resolutions, repeated without assignable cause, cannot fail to appear ridiculous to any one who shall hereafter examine the journals of the house: the inference drawn from them will be, either that the house was obsequiously subservient to a vain minister, or that it felt a cowardly and irrepressible exultation at having escaped the danger of war. But the house has on this occasion gone out of its way to state, that it "sees nothing" "in the present circumstances that calls upon the house" "to express any apprehension of a permanent military" "occupation of the Spanish territory by France." Why then does the house speak at all? If it sees nothing to remark upon, why does it not hold its tongue? Do legislative assemblies usually pass formal resolutions, to declare that they have nothing to say? Passing by these absurdities, however, it is agreeable to hear from Mr. Canning, "that the period fixed for the evacuation of" "Spain is shorter than even the honorable gentleman" "opposite could reasonably or even possibly hope." And it is further pleasing to find, that all the members who spoke on the ministerial side of the house had the justice and good feeling to applaud the noble devotion of Sir Robert Wilson to the cause of liberty. Though the hostility of the continental despots sufficiently attested the merits of this fine-spirited soldier, it must be gratifying to himself to see that his countrymen universally ac-

knowledge his excellent motives and gallant conduct. It is also creditable to the country, that there are no persons in it (except a few parasitical journalists) mean enough to think that the honors of Sir Robert are in the least impaired by his loss of the decorations bestowed by a confederacy of tyrants.

*Abstract from Lord John Russell's Speech in the House of Commons on Parliamentary Reform, on Thursday the 25th of April, 1822.*

"The natural balance of our constitution was, that the Crown should appoint its ministers, that these ministers should possess the confidence of the House of Commons, and that the House of Commons should represent the sense of the people of England. Such was the nature of the machinery; and if any single wheel went wrong, the whole of the machine must immediately become deranged. Thus when the Stewarts were on the Throne of England, their ministers did not possess the confidence of the people; and the consequences were tumult, insurrection, and civil war. At the present time, ministers possessed the confidence of the House of Commons, but the House of Commons could not be said to possess the esteem and respect of the people. Much was it to be apprehended that the consequences would be equally fatal; for tumult and insurrection had already burst out in many parts of the empire. This popular frenzy exhibited at one view, alarm in the upper-classes, and disaffection in the lower. And what were the remedies applied to the evil? Severe eversion—restrictive laws—large standing armies—enormous barracks scattered all over the face of the country; symptoms not of strength and confidence, but of weakness and alarm (hear, hear, hear!). It might be said that to the decisions by which these measures were enforced, many of the friends of the liberties of the people were parties. If he were obliged to admit that some of his personal friends, for whom he entertained the greatest respect, were of the number of those who imposed these undue restraints on the subject—who had assisted in pairing down the bill of rights, and in diminishing the liberty of the people, he should only look with more regret at the proceeding, and deplore the fatal mistake which they had committed. In his firm and unalterable persuasion, the liberty of Englishmen was founded on the common consent of all being required to the establishment of the law. The freedom of England must rest on that basis, or it could no longer exist. It was not in England that the liberties of any particular class could be curtailed. It was not in England as in the senate of Venice, that the interests of one class of the community could be permitted to bear down the rights of another. It was not from between the bars of a prison, that the notes of English liberty, could be expected to manifest that grace and sweetness which must also have something of wildness to impart to them their full charms (hear, hear, hear!). Unless the liberty of England ranged uncontrollable, vain had been the efforts of our brave ancestors. The liberty

of England adjured the countenance of extensive barracks scattered over the country. The liberty of England could never allow itself to be maintained by despotic demonstrations of that nature. Melancholy, indeed, would be the result of any attempt to govern this country on any other principles than those which had been formerly and firmly adopted; and yet they had seen his Majesty's ministers resorted to other principles, for the purpose of obtaining majorities in that house. Such a proceeding was unwise as it was unconstitutional. It was unwise, for it occasioned even to Government themselves an inconvenience, of which he conceived that they would wish to get rid of. If Parliament were once reformed, Government would have nothing more to do than to submit their measures to Parliament; and if those measures were not approved, to alter or nullify them; but if approved by such Parliament, they would be sure to receive the sanction of the people. Instead of that course, his Majesty's ministers adopted a narrow-winding path. They employing nearly the whole sessions, in obtaining the concurrence in their measures of certain borough proprietors; but after the prorogation of Parliament, they found their whole work undone; they found that whatever approbation their measures had received in Parliament by the popular opinion and by a free press, they were condemned; and that, however sanctioned by a House of Commons, it was impracticable to carry them into execution. Thus it was, that the very ministers, who in 1816, proposed 99,000 men as the military establishment of the country, had been compelled by the voice of the people to reduce that number to 69,000, being no less a reduction than a third. Such a reduction would have been spontaneously preferred by wise ministers. It might have been proposed even by such ministers as the present (a laugh). For his own part he confessed, that he never attributed to the present ministers, any dark and dangerous preconcerted plans, against the liberties of the country. He believed that their only wish was to do as little good or evil as they could help (a laugh). He believed that their sole object was the retention of their places, and of the power and profit which belonged to them (hear, hear, hear!). He believed, that in many cases, his Majesty's present ministers were perfectly indifferent as to the success of their propositions—that they were perfectly indifferent to the disgrace of popular odium; and had no objection, after a measure had been rejected with indignation, to bring it down again in an altered state; that might give them hope of its adoption (hear, hear, hear!). Under such circumstances, in his opinion, it would be convenient to such ministers, to find in that house an echo of the popular voice, to be able to feel at once the pulse of the people of England (hear, hear, hear!). What was the course which they were at present compelled to pursue? In what way had they endeavoured to gain support? The present year afforded a happy exemplification of their policy. It was well known, that before the commencement of the session, the difficulties of the nation were extremely pressing, that there was great distress, and above all, the country gentlemen, who had always been the stanch supporters of ministers, declared that in their opinion Government had not acted wisely. What did ministers do in order to fortify themselves

against the effect of these loud complaints? Did they resort to any popular measure? Did they seek for the support of public opinion? Far from it. They went to a certain party known in this Country by the name of "The Grenville, Party (hear, hear, hear.) That was a party which derived weight and importance from the character and talents of Lord Grenville, whose power of mind, whose energy, whose talents, and whose rare combination of extensive learning of every kind, with great official experience, constituted him a man entitled to the greatest influence and authority among any set of men to whom he might think proper to unite himself. Some years ago, however, Lord Grenville had declared his intention of retiring from public life, an intention to which he (Lord John Russell) believed the Noble Lord had steadily adhered. Deprived of Lord Grenville, the Grenville party became as nothing. (hear, hear, hear.) Whatever might have been their merits; however great their merits; and he had no inclination to deny that they were immense (a laugh,) such had been their political conduct, that the whole of the people of England held them in particular abhorrence (a loud laugh.) Whoever had abused the Whigs, whoever had abused the Ministers, whoever had abused the Radical Reformers; all combined, all were ready, to club their sum of vituperation against "the Grenville party" (loud laughter.) His Majesty's Ministers, in despair of obtaining the aid of the popular sentiment, asked and received the support of this party, which, as far as public opinion was concerned, was literally nothing (a laugh.) With utter astonishment, however, the Country witnessed a levy en masse of the whole of the family and connections, with all their adherents and dependants, for the service of the Crown (a laugh.) It seemed as if a general press warrant had been issued to force the whole clan into the support of Government (a loud laugh.) One of them was sent to Switzerland with a salary large enough to corrupt the whole senate of the Country. A right honorable gentleman, like another bacchus, was sent to India, thence it was presumed to return laden with the rich spoils of the east (a loud laugh). Thus had the whole party become all at once a set of persons on whom the hatred of the people, and favors of the Crown, were unreservedly bestowed (hear, hear.) They became a chosen and privileged class—held, on the one hand, to deserved execration, and on the other to be worthy of power (hear, hear, hear.) With respect to the people, the accession of that party could afford no strength to Government. In the House, however, their strength was unequivocally felt whenever a division took place (hear, hear, hear.) There was another view of the subject which it was desirable to take. It was a constitutional rule, established by our ancestors, in the same way in which our other liberties had been established, namely, by the most severe and unremitting exertions, that such members of the house as took office, should be returned to their constituents, in order that the opinion of those constituents might be pronounced upon them. Now, of course, the members of "the Grenville party," were thus sent to their constituents. If so, they might be compelled to answer many questions. They might be asked if they had changed

their opinion on the subject of the salt tax (hear, hear, hear.) They might be asked if they had done any thing for the catholics of Ireland (hear, hear, hear.) They might be asked if among their numerous bargains and stipulations, they had made any bargain or stipulation in favor of five millions of their fellow creatures, whose claims they had formerly estimated so highly, that they had considered the denial of those claims a sufficient reason for keeping aloof from any connection with Government (loud cries of hear.) Whether or not those Honorable Gentlemen had obtained any such stipulation he knew not; but if he (Lord John Russell) were one of their constituents, he would say that they had not behaved consistently with their former conduct, unless they had made some such stipulation, and unless they had a prospect of being speedily enabled to obtain for the sister Island that concession for which it had so long struggled in vain (hear, hear, hear.) It so happened, however, that the world would never know how the question which he had enumerated had been answered—for they had never been asked (a laugh.) The greater portion of "the Grenville party," had no other constituent than the individual who accepted rank when they accepted office, and who was a principal partner in their recent coalition with the present Government (hear, hear.) That individual, the gentleman in question, no doubt represented faithfully and entirely. Between him and them there was what Mr. Pitt once said there ought always to be between the people and their representatives—the deepest sympathy and the closest connection (loud cries of hear, hear, hear.) But no opportunity was given to the people to express their sense of the conduct of these their assumed representatives in thus accepting of office. Such was the aid which Ministers thought proper to seek; and he maintained that their having done so was with him a strong additional instance of the necessity of Parliamentary Reform. But there was another argument in favor of his motion which he had not yet touched upon—he meant the opinion of the great Lord Clarendon, who in speaking of Cromwell's plan of reform, observed, that it was a plan which was worthy of a better source. In addition to the authority of this great man, he had in his favor the opinions of Mr. Locke, the most liberal of whig philosophers; Judge Blackstone, one of the most able, and at the same time most cautious of constitutional writers; the great and virtuous Lord Chatham; Mr. Pitt, the object of the praise and admiration of one great party in this country; and Mr. Fox, the object of the love and affection of another (hear.) He owned that such a powerful union of authority, coming as it did from different men, who lived at different times; men who formed their opinions upon different grounds, and scarcely concurring in any two sentiments upon other points, struck his mind with a weight which he could not describe, and gave him a confidence which could otherwise only be attained by the dictates of experience. The opinions of such men ought to be considered as a series of precedents. Their names and authorities were blended with the laws and institutions which we venerate, and were calculated to smooth down and remove that ruggedness which the question of reform presented to some Gentlemen on the

other side of the House. He knew no authorities to be cited against him, except indeed those of Mr. Burke and Mr. Windham, and without meaning to disparage the characters of those Gentlemen, he must say, that the names he had already quoted were more than an overbalance of authority in his favor. Having now stated the situation of the Country; its improvement in wealth and knowledge. Having pointed out the present defective mode of election and representation; and the great mischiefs arising therefrom; it remained for him to state to the House the nature of the plan which it was his intention to recommend. In considering what plan would be most for the advantage of the county, he naturally looked to the great authorities to whom he had before alluded. He found that the great Lord Chatham recommended the addition of one hundred members; and that Mr. Pitt also recommended the addition of one hundred knights to be elected from the different counties; that Mr. Flood also recommended the addition of one hundred knights to be elected by the resident householders of the different Counties'; and that Mr. Fox, in speaking of Mr. Flood's plan, said that it was the best outline of Parliamentary Reform which had come within his knowledge. Seeing this, he felt inclined to propose the introduction of one hundred members to that House. He did not wish that they should be all returned from counties, nor yet all from towns. He should therefore propose, as far as the thing could be at present settled, that the counties should return sixty members, and the towns and commercial interests forty. But here he felt a difficulty which did not occur in the recommendations of Lord Chatham, Mr. Flood, and Mr. Fox. It was this, that since their plans of reform had been proposed, one hundred members (the Irish members) had been added to the British Parliament. But in order to meet this difficulty, he should propose that one hundred members should be taken from one hundred of the smaller boroughs, leaving each of those boroughs one member instead of two. If a former motion of his had been attended to, it would have gone a great way towards reform, inasmuch as it would have disfranchised many boroughs in which corruption was notorious. But he regretted to say, that that question had not been taken up with sincerity by the House. If it had met with the sincere co-operation of Parliament, it would have gone far to put down bribery and corruption at elections. The house said "If you bring a case of corruption before us, and prove it, we are ready to convict; but we will not stir one step to discover any such case, though they are as notorious as the sun at noonday." In short, the House of Commons acted as a Police Magistrate would, who would say, "If you bring a thief before me, I'm ready to commit him; but I shall not send out a single Police Officer, though I know that there are nightly complaints of thieves parading the streets." (hear, hear.) Under all these circumstances of the case, he certainly was of opinion that the plan of reform, which is now proposed, was the safest and best which could be adopted by Parliament (hear, hear.) There were, he was aware, a variety of other considerations connected with this plan; as for instance, whether the right of voting should be in leasehold or

copyhold property, or in what other way it should be granted, together with various other details into which it was unnecessary now to enter. The question for the consideration of the House now was, whether the question of reform was worthy their consideration or not. If they decided that it was, why then would it be an easy matter to arrange and decide upon the details. Leaving this part of the question, he should now proceed to answer what he conceived to be the most material objections, which could be urged against his motion. First, he supposed it would be urged that the smaller boroughs were the means of sending men of the greatest talent into Parliament. This he admitted. He was far from undervaluing the talent so introduced, or the means of introducing it, but to the objection he answered, that the same course would still remain open. He had no objection to the existence of small boroughs, but he did object, and that strongly too, to the small borough members forming a majority of that House, and giving the sanction of Parliament to measures which were in point of fact the acts of private individuals. This was giving a weight and consequence to mere forms and ceremonials of representation, at the expence of the real substance of the constitution. There is something so venerable about the constitution of this House, that he could not better illustrate his present argument, than by drawing a comparison between certain proceedings in ancient Rome, and those now under consideration. In doing this he must beg the particular attention of the honorable member for Corfe Castle (Mr. Bankes,) who, it is well known, was the commentator on the history of Rome; the tory commentator, as another great writer, was known to be the whig commentator. About 370 years after the establishment of the Roman Republic, a contest arose whether one of the consuls should be chosen from among the plebians, or whether they should both be chosen from among the patricians; (a question, by the bye, not very assimilar to that now under discussion,) it was argued by the aristocracy of that day, that the admission of a plebian to the consulate, would be productive of great evil; that the chickens would not eat, would not come out of their coops, or out of their shells—that the auguries could not be performed, and that all the system of divination would be deranged and destroyed; or in the words of the historian, Livy, "Quid enim est si pulli non pascentur? Si ex cavae tardius exierint? Si occinuerit avis? Parva sunt hœc: sed parva is ta non conteemnendo maiores nostri maximam hanc rem facerunt." Such were the arguments used by a great Senator of those days. This contest, it should be remembered, arose upon the return of Camillus, at the conclusion of a great war. What was done by the Senate of Rome? It might be supposed that they introduced seditious Meeting Bills, Gagging Bills, and other such restrictive measures. But no such thing occurred; the dictators and the Senate yielded, and a plebian consul was appointed. Nor had it been told that any of the predicted evils followed this deviation from aristocratical influence. The Romans went on in their usual course; they carried on their wars against Pyrrhus and against Carthage, without it ever having been discovered that the chickens refused to eat, or to come out of

their coops, or that the auspices of the birds had been less favorable. The honorable member for Corfe Castle would bear in mind that Camillus had acceded to the wishes of the people, and had stated as his ground for doing so, that he was tired of bearing the odium which such his opposition to their wishes had brought upon him. He should beg to put to the honorable member for Corfe Castle, the example of Camillus, and to remind him whether it would not be wise to concede in time, that which could not long be denied; and also to consider whether he (Mr. Bankes) and his friends, had not borne long enough, the odium and unpopularity, of having refused what the people considered with justice to be their undoubted right and inheritance (hear, hear.) There was another point which he expected would be urged against him, namely, that though the House of Commons was said not to represent the people, yet that its decisions were received and obeyed by the country as those of the most perfectly constituted assembly. To this he answered, that the people of England were remarkable beyond all other countries for their attachment to the laws and constitution of the country. The people of England were well aware, that nothing brought forward by ministers, could have the force and authority of the law, until it had received the sanction of the House of Commons;—and when any such measure did pass the Commons, the people felt that they must either be silent, or at once rebel against Government. But did silence show that the people approved? Did it follow that because the people ceased to speak of the omission of the late Queen's name from the liturgy, that therefore they were satisfied with that omission? (hear, hear.) Did it follow, that because the people ceased to speak of the office of joint post-master general, they were therefore satisfied that two persons ought to be paid for holding that office? No! the people were silent, because they found that all observations would be useless, unless they rose to actual resistance; and in so doing they judged wisely, for much as affairs might be bettered, nothing had hitherto occurred which would justify any resistance. But when Government talked of the acquiescence of the people, he would ask whether the same had not taken place under the worst of tyrannies? Did not James the second find the same acquiescence, surrounded as he was by lawyers, flattered as he was by the subserviency of addressers, and the base surrender of corporate rights, until at last a violent resistance was made, and he was obliged to abdicate the throne? (hear, hear, hear.) Paul of Russia was obeyed by his subjects, until a sudden resistance terminated his life by the bowstring. Ferdinand of Spain was enabled to sign the death warrant of the best of his subjects, and was implicitly obeyed by his subjects, until, at last, the army burst forth in rebellion and hurled him from his despotic throne. All those powers thought themselves secure in the affection of their subjects, until they were in an instant overthrown and destroyed. Let gentlemen look to the actual situation of this country. We have been engaged in a war which brought bankruptcy and confusion upon a great portion of the community, and in such a state of things, it became the duty of ministers to act with the greatest caution, and with a

view to relieve and soothe, as much as possible, the distresses of the country. But there was another argument, which, when all else failed, was brought forward, not to affect the understandings, but the nerves of the people of this country. He meant allusions to the French revolution, and the civil wars in the time of Charles the first. Now he wished to know what the persons who used such arguments meant? Did they mean to say that the tyranny of Charles the first, who wished to govern the country independently of parliament, and by divine right, who wished to levy taxes without the intervention of parliament and contrary to law, was a government which it was wrong to resist? Did they mean to say that it was wrong to resist such a government as Louis the sixteenth, who wasted and squandered the treasures and resources of the country, in a most profuse and extravagant manner? But unless those gentlemen argued in this way, it would be difficult to understand what the nature of their arguments were, or why they introduced those bugbears the French revolution and the civil wars of Charles the first (hear, hear.) He must be more learned than Seldon, more prudent than Pym, more patriotic than Hampden, more wise and learned than all those about him, who could put his finger upon that period in the reign of Charles the first, when the people might have stopped short and preserved the Monarchy without surrendering altogether the liberties of the country (hear, hear.) This being the case, it behoved them to stop and enquire how and why it was that the people rose; and why, having risen, they were so difficult to be overcome? It appeared to him, that the real cause was the want of unity among the aristocracy of the country, a great portion were joined with the crown against the people. This it was which produced a great portion of the evil at that period. Where the people were united, there were no calamitous consequences to be feared. James the second was dethroned without opposition, without creating civil war. He called then upon the aristocracy of the country to unite in support of reform. He called upon the whigs to unite in support of this grand object. The principle of the whigs, as far as he understood it, was to obtain for the people as much liberty as they were capable of enjoying. Indeed, the great fault of the whigs was, their demanding too much—witness the exclusion bill and the acts of Mr. Fox. It was by continuing the borough system, and preventing too great a preponderance from being given to counties, and to land, that the House of Hanover was established on the throne, and we were preserved from the continuation of the reign of the Stewarts. As they then furthered the cause of liberty by their conduct, so he called upon them to do it now, by giving to the increased intelligence of the people an increased representation in that house (hear, hear.) The people were now so much enlightened, that they were fully competent to guard any portion of liberty confided to their care. Let the whigs now shew themselves ready to give up a portion of the boroughs; let them support the cause of reform, and they would take the most effectual means of preserving the constitution [hear.] He could not conceal from himself the fact that there existed a sort of jealousy between the opposition

within and the opposition without the walls of Parliament. This arose, he believed, from an impression without, that the opposition in that house did not advocate the cause of the people so fully and so strenuously as they ought. In calling upon the whigs, he at the same time called upon the whole aristocracy of the country to advocate the same cause. It had been well observed by Sir W. Temple, that even in the greatest changes in this country, if weight and number went together, England would still be safe (hear, hear.) He (Lord John Russell) now called upon the weight and numbers of the country to go the same way;—he beseeched members not to allow themselves to be swayed, either by pedantic or interested motives;—he entreated them not to allow any temporary interests to exclude from their minds the great permanent stake which they held in the country. Let them keep in mind that all the great talents, weight, and character of the country arose out of the freedom we enjoyed (hear.) As our ancestors had acquired for us the liberties we enjoyed, so we owed to posterity to transmit them those liberties untainted and unrestricted (hear.) By adhering to the principles of the constitution, which was now little more than a century old, they would make this country become one of the most free and stable Governments that ever existed in any country or in any age. (The conclusion of the Noble Lord's speech was followed by loud cheers.) His Lordship then moved "That the present state of the representation of the people in Parliament requires the most serious consideration of this House."

The House then divided on the motion:

Ayes .....	269
Noes... ..	164
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Majority...	105
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*Abstract of a Speech made at a Public Dinner at Nottingham, given in Honor of their Representatives in Parliament, on Wednesday, Sep. 4, 1823.*

" There never existed a Government—no, not even the Roman Empire in its days of most lavish resources—which possessed such a mischievous extent of means—it had not a tenth of the corrupt power which the narrow oligarchy of England commands. It is not the King who enjoys this supremacy; for the King, with all his power and prerogatives, extensive as they necessarily are, for the representative of the people of England, as such the King of a free nation ought to be considered—it is not the King, but the boroughmongering oligarchy of which we have to complain; it is that oligarchy which oppressed and loaded the King himself with obloquy (cries of hear.) The King and People upon a just and mutual understanding of their rights, had, and could have, but one common interest. The Crown is bound to maintain the rights of the people, and the people owed allegiance to the King, but none to the oligarchy (applause.) That oligarchy deserves punish-

ment rather than respect—rather than the privilege of being respectfully sued to permit the people to reform themselves. Sooner than yield to so base a power as this oligarchy usurped, he hoped the people would never cease to petition the King till they have effected its complete annihilation; it is against this usurpation that the public are called upon to unite, against it they are bound to direct their loudest execration (applause.) If any thing could put this oligarchy into a more degrading light than its monstrous usurpation, it would be its most odious hypocrisy. Did not the company recollect, that when an aged gentleman, Sir Manasseh Lopes, was detected—detected, they called it! (a laugh) in doing that which five-sixths of the members of the House knew they had done themselves to obtain their seats, the unfortunate gentleman so detected, not having the luck of his colleague, who, wiser in his generation, bribed off the petitioners who complained of bribery (loud laugh) became at once the object of the indignation of the House. Really the spectacle was ludicrous, were it not that the system itself was full of public danger. Poor Sir Manasseh Lopes was instantly overwhelmed as an example, forsooth! even the very judge who tried him, who must have got his own seat in Parliament in the very same way, and who possibly made the seat he had so acquired the stepping-stone to his subsequent promotion—even that judge read the old gentleman a long lecture upon the heinousness of his crime (a laugh.) Big wigs and long robes not only hide a man's face from his acquaintances, but also from himself; or else the public could never be treated with such exhibitions as the sentence of Sir M. Lopes. It was a sort of drama, which contrary to the rules of drama, began in farce and ended in tragedy; for the poor gentleman who was prosecuted, had to endure two years imprisonment, to pay £10,000 fine; a more odious act of injustice, heightened by hypocrisy, had never been exhibited (hear, hear.) As it was said, from the foot of Hercules you could know the statue; so he might say that from this one act they might estimate the general composition of the House of Commons. The worthy gentleman concluded amid great applause, by reiterating his sentiments in favor of Parliamentary Reform, and of the value of such meetings as the present.

*Norfolk Fox Dinner.*

FEBRUARY, 1822.

The Annual Dinner to celebrate the Anniversary of the Birth-Day of Mr. Fox, was held on Thursday week, at the Assembly Room, Norwich.

So great was the anxiety of the Gentlemen of the County and City to be present on this occasion, that applications for tickets were made several weeks back, but as the Assembly Rooms could dine no more than 250 persons the issue of tickets were restricted to that number; the consequence of which was, that upwards of one hundred Gentlemen who wished to be present were excluded from the dinner. Notwithstanding the precautions taken by the Stewards and Gentlemen of the Committee to prevent an overflow, from fifteen to

twenty Gentlemen were obliged to dine in the orchestra. His Royal Highness the Duke of Sussex, who is on a visit at Holkham, being expected to attend the dinner, several persons crowded forth to witness his arrival. At a quarter past three o'clock the ringing of the church bells announced that his Royal Highness had entered the city; he proceeded immediately to the Bishop's Palace, where he was to reside during his stay in town.

At half-past four o'clock the Duke of Norfolk and the Earl of Albemarle entered the dining-room, and were received with loud and repeated cheering. Mr. Coke entered shortly after, and was greeted in a similar manner. Soon after five o'clock the Duke of Sussex made his appearance, and was received with the highest possible demonstrations of respect; every Gentleman stood up and cheered as his Royal Highness passed to the upper end of the room. Among the Noblemen and Gentlemen present we noticed the following:—

His Royal Highness the Duke of Sussex, the Duke of Norfolk, Earl Marshal; Earl of Albemarle; Viscount Bury; Hon. W. Fitzroy, Hon. E. Keppel; Sir W. W. Dalling, Sir R. P. Joddrell, Sir T. B. Beever; Sir W. Middleton, Sir W. J. H. B. Folkes; Sir J. E. Smith; T. W. Coke, Esq. M. P. Wm. Smith, Esq. M. P.—Honywood, Esq. M. P. N. W. Ridley Colborne, Esq. M. P. T. R. Lennard, Esq. M. P. for Ipswich, E. R. Pratt, S. T. Southwell, E. Lombe, M. Micklethwayt, J. Postle, Admiral Lokin, — Greg, Joseph Grigby, J. W. Tomlinson, — Collinson, W. F. Keppel, J. Keppel, J. P. Bagge, L. Self, W. Allen, — Hogg, Colonel Stevenson, Colonel Dixon, Major Hussey, Major Turrel; Captain Worth, R. N. Captain Money; Alderman Leman, Alderman Bolingbroke, Alderman Finch; Sheriff Graves; A. Hudson, Esq. Dr. Wright, W. Dalrymple, Esq. T. Hudson, Esq. T. B. Tooke, Esq. W. Foster, Esq. W. Lukin, Esq. John Parkes, jun. Esq. of Warwick, E. Postle, Esq. B. Gurdon, Esq. P. Gurdon, Esq. J. Bloom, Esq. Reverend Archdeacon Bathurst, C. Collyer, R. Odell, R. F. Elwin, J. B. Collyer, F. Howes, W. Collet, — Goddard, W. Gordon, H. Wilson, G. Preston, L. B. Foster, T. Steward, Esq. W. Steward, Esq. E. R. Finch, Esq. W. Repton, Esq. G. Sandby, Esq. — Rolfe, Esq. — Havers, Esq. J. M. Smith, Esq. G. Brown, Esq. &c. &c.

The Earl of ALBEMARLE having taken the chair, supported on the right by the Duke of Sussex, and on the left by the Duke of Norfolk, the party sat down to an excellent dinner.

The cloth having been removed, "Nan Nobis Domine" was sung,

The Earl of ALBEMARLE. This was the fourth time he had the honor of filling the chair. On a former occasion he had congratulated them on the presence of an illustrious member of the House of Brunswick, and he had to perform the same duty now. (loud cheers) Near him also sat the Hereditary Earl Marshal of England, who set the high example of his station at the head of the nobility, to uphold the true principles of the constitution, and who ever felt it as his highest honor to be foremost in supporting the rights and privileges of the people (applause.) What could he say of their distinguished representative,

Mr. Coke, but that which he had been long saying of him wherever his name appeared? He had no new line of politics; the old ones were too good to be changed (applause.) He was proud to see so great an assembly of the rank and wealth of the country; it was a proof of their spirit, and contributed in swelling the triumph of their principles. He saw them all high in spirits as heretofore, but, unfortunately, lower in pocket (hear, hear.) He knew they felt the change, for what honest man in the country did not? (hear, hear.) That was a topic on which he could not dilate coolly; for he felt nothing but anger and indignation for the authors of their calamities. He was too sincere to observe false delicacy on such an occasion, or to suppress the sentiments of anger which arose in his bosom when he spoke of such men (applause) Was it for those calamities, which oppressed them all, that their thanks were due to the pilot who weathered the storm? —“the pilot who gathered the storm” was a friend's reading of the passage, (hear, hear,) and that reading was right. It was to the accursed measures of that pilot, as he was called, that the country owed its present calamities. They were told, indeed, that they ought not to grumble at them, because the war had terminated with glory—it had achieved triumphs for the nation, and preserved the liberties of Europe. Was that the true picture of the result? No. Where had the rights of the people, or the condition of the world, been bettered by the measures of the Ministers? Had they contributed to make the British name respected abroad, or had they secured the prosperity, or gained the affections of the people at home? Had they secured the confidence of an enemy, or established the happiness of a friend, in any quarter of the globe? No: the historian would look in vain for the accomplishment of such achievements: he would vainly seek any of these advantages; but in their place he would find the establishment of a “Holy Alliance,” (hear) the liberties of nations suppressed by the sword, and a Ferdinand replaced upon his throne. This was the system which had cost the best blood and treasure of the country: it was for this that they owed their thanks not only to the pilot that “gathered” the storm, but to the crew who succeeded him at the helm of the vessel (hear, hear.) Very different were the principles of that great man whose anniversary they were now celebrating (applause) This was not the time to point out, in detail, the contrast between the principles of Mr. Fox and Mr. Pitt; but as he had loved the former in his life time, and revered the principles which he had left as the best record of his fame, he might be permitted to dwell shortly upon his character. The public and private worth of that great man had endeared his memory to Englishmen, and his fame must ever rest upon the contrast which his opinions presented to those of the men who had brought the country to its present situation; his predictions, now fulfilled, had unhappily been slighted when they might have averted the evil. The benevolence of his amiable and expansive mind, and that sagacity which he displayed in the knowledge of human affairs, never entered into the constitution of the ministers who wielded the destinies of the country. Were such sentiments congenial with theirs, that blot and stain,

which now disgraced the annals of Englishmen—the Manchester massacre—would never have fallen upon them (hear, hear.) Had Mr. Fox been heard, they would not have to lament the passing of the accursed Six Acts, nor would they have had to deplore the introduction of the abominable system of spies and informers, who created and aggravated the evils against which it was said they were embodied to act. If such a mind as Mr. Fox's had ruled the councils of Great Britain in the past year, that outrage upon decency, that gross violation of public morals, against an unhappy and illustrious female would never have happened, nor would the military murder which had occurred, when the last outrage was offered to her name, have disgraced the annals of their history (hear, hear.) Had the authors of these manifold and bitter calamities possessed the statesman-like vigour of Mr. Fox, guided by his sagacity, they would have known that Englishmen were more easily led than driven, that kindness and affection were always more powerful engines for a good government to command their feelings, than the iron rod of power, and the constraint of coercion (hear.)

“Far, better far,

“By winning ways to conquer willing minds,  
“And let persuasion take the place of force.”

But it was time to profit by the great example of Mr. Fox. In the poetical language of Mr. Taylor—

“We come to his tomb; but not to weep,  
“Tis freedom's holiday we keep;  
“This should the sacred altar be,  
“Around which we vow to liberty.”

(applause.) The chairman concluded by proposing “The Memory of Charles James Fox,” which was drunk in respectful silence.

The next toast was—“The King and Constitution.”

The chairman would not delay the company a moment. They all knew the illustrious personage near him, whose public and private character had rendered him so deservedly dear.

“The health of the Duke of Sussex.”

His Royal Highness the Duke of Sussex always conceived that acts spoke better than verbal appearances, and by his acts he would be judged. He had sometimes heard, and in courts of justice, that truth was a libel he had not, however, heard that truth was yet high treason (hear, hear.) In glancing at the public life of Mr. Fox, it was impossible to avoid taking a retrospective view of the wars that had taken place in opposition to that great statesman's sentiments. They had been called necessary wars; and in looking at their character, it was natural, in the first place, to ask why or wherefore they had arisen? That when men's liberties were in danger, they might be driven into war to protect them, could easily be conceived. It was owing to the necessity of a war for the defence of their liberties, that his family owed the illustrious rank to which they had been called in this country. Those were no friends either to the Royal Family or the Constitution, who would pervert the principles to which they owed their connexion with the throne (applause.) The war appeared to have been carried on solely for the aggrandizement of the sovereign, and not for the liberties of the people, (cheers.) From the beginning to the end no

traces of any efforts in favor of national rights were to be found (hear, hear, hear.) The alliances against France had been formed by those who had either participated in the spoliations of Poland, or quietly looked on. The allies entered Paris, and of their own act, replaced the Bourbons without any condition in behalf of the people. The war had been carried on by the fiat of sovereigns for their own purposes; it was a warfare of bayonets to put down the liberties of the people. A single individual had made legitimacy march out of France more rapidly than it marched in. What a proof of its being the choice of the nation! The victory of Waterloo left the people in as humiliating a condition as defeat could have done. In former times, when England interfered in Continental politics, it was to save the people from oppression. Such had been the interference of Queen Elizabeth. But now there was a community of effect to crush, not to save, the oppressed. It was painful that, in the negotiations which led to this state of things, more harm had been done to the liberties of the world by the diplomatic course pursued by an illustrious individual, than good had been acquired by the brilliancy of his career in the field (cheers.) The system of spies and informers was not the growth of an English soil,—it was an emanation from the Holy Alliance, and constituted one of the glories which attested the salvation of the country (cheers.) Of a piece with this was that beautiful Bridge-street concern, whose secretary was treasurer to the Society for the Relief of Foreigners in Distress, and in consequence had access at pleasure to the persons invested with diplomatic cares in this country, for such purposes as he chose to be engaged in. Next came the system of terrorism. John Bull was incapable of tolerating the atrocities which were committed under the name of The John Bull. The process of terrifying a man from his duty was easy. Were he a father, it was only to send him an anonymous threat that if he did such an act, he would next Sunday read such a story of his wife, his son, or his daughter. This was the system which they now saw reared in England, and associated with the principles of men in power. Could such evils have arisen, had Mr. Fox's principles prevailed? (repeated cheers.) The present distress proceeded from taxation. Ministers had been dividing and distracting by setting one interest in the community against another, and had at length made such a jumble of all interests, that none could extricate themselves from the mass of confusion. The first step in the way of remedy was to remove the cause of excessive taxation. Why uphold a great standing army, and an immense unnecessary expenditure in every department of the state? The Holy Alliance might want it, but of what use was it to England? (loud cheers.) He was perfectly convinced, however, and he spoke it without pledging himself to specific details; or shutting out particular qualifications, that a rational reform in Parliament could alone save the country. It was only repeating what he had said in the House of Lords when the head of a party, which at that time was shackling his friends with their support, had declared that those who called for reform were Jacobins. He had then challenged that Noble Lord to meet the friends of

reform, and see which were the real and best friends of order and the constitution (enthusiastic cheers.)

Mr. WATSON said he was a firm Whig of the Constitution of 1688. He prayed that the Royal Family might ever act upon the principles to which they owed their elevation, and not be led away from them by sycophantic ministers, who would betray the King and sacrifice the country for the attainment of their own corrupt private ends. (Applause.)

The CHAIRMAN gave the Bishop of Norwich's health, and after quoting an elaborate character of a perfect man, by Dr. Blair, challenged contradiction when he applied it, paragraph by paragraph, to the Lord Bishop of Norwich. (Applause.)

The Rev. ARCHDEACON BATHURST feelingly expressed thanks for the compliment to his revered father.

The DUKE of NORFOLK expressed his deep sense of the honor done him in drinking his health, associated as that compliment was with the growing diffusion of the great principles of Mr. Fox. (Applause.) By those principles alone could the country be yet saved. (cheers.) He begged to assure them, that he felt the same pride in now avowing these principles, that he had experienced in obeying the commands of his sovereign at the ceremony of the late coronation. (Great applause.)

The Rev. Mr. COLLYER was called up by the toast in favor of Catholic emancipation. The present state of the country was solely owing to the unjust wars which had so long been waged in defiance of the prophetic voice of Mr. Fox. He knew of no course but one for averting the ruin which impended, and that was to change the men and the measures that had created the evil—in one word, to restore the constitution to its original purity. This could be effected only by a wise and temperate, but a real and effectual reform in the Commons House of Parliament.—(Great applause.)

The DUKE of SUSSEX, in proposing the health of the Earl of Albemarle, expressed his regret that the Noble Earl did not exert those powerful talents, which were so well known to the country, in his proper place—in the House of Peers. A certain distinguished personage had characterised County Meetings as farces; but if, after the exertions of the Noble Earl and his friends, such expressions were in future applied to County Meetings, they might turn out to be very serious tragedies indeed. He concluded by proposing "The health of the Noble Chairman," which was drunk with loud applause.

The EARL of ALBEMARLE said, that when a man knew his own faults, it was the first step towards correcting them. He was aware that two faults were attributed to him. Of one of these he was conscious, but he was not entirely disposed to submit to the imputation of the other. However that might be, he was sorely afraid he was not likely to amend, either in the admitted or imputed fault. The fault which he admitted was talking too much at that Meeting; that imputed to him was his talking too little elsewhere. When his Royal Highness first proposed his health, he had determined to correct the first fault, at least, by not speaking much about himself. He begged, however to say one or two words upon the remark which his Royal Highness had made upon him. In the first place, his

Royal Highness had fallen into a mistake, which many a kind hearted man had fallen into before him. He allowed the kindness of his heart to get the better of his judgment, for those who best knew him, knew how unfit he was for the House of Lords. He was not at all fitted for the solemnity, the gravity, the wisdom, and decorum of that assembly; he had no ambition to gratify, no private object to attain, and in honest truth he must say, that he thought an attendance on the House of Lords a useless and a thankless exertion. He did not perceive the good which was to come from it. He had, it was true, been ready to come forward in the county, and he did so for this reason—that he thought his exertions there more affective than they could be as a daily debater in the House of Lords. He hoped they would accept the thanks of a plain man, who had no ambition beyond a wish to hold the good opinion and good will of those who knew him best, (applause.) There was no man who wished more sincerely than himself the happiness and prosperity of his friends, or the general welfare of his country. (Applause.)

Mr. COKE.—Mr. Fox was an Englishman of frank dealing and plain speaking with his countrymen; he was a man of the most unbounded benevolence, the firm friend of civil and religious liberty all over the world, and the determined opponent of tyranny and corruption in every shape.—(Hear, hear.)—Mr. Fox had used his greatest energies to avert from his country, the calamitous war with France against the efforts of the people to assert their liberties; but his counsels, unfortunately for mankind, had not prevailed. Let, then, the haters of the liberties of mankind rejoice at the success of their schemes; let them take the glory of which they talked so much, and with it the taxation, which was the price of the glory. (Hear, hear.) He had still hopes that the energies of the people would compel even the present Ministers to be less prodigal. Unless some speedy step were taken, it would be difficult to preserve the country from ruin and destruction. He hoped, however, that something might yet be done, and that the example of one revolution would not be productive of another. (hear, hear.)—The author of all these accumulated and still accumulating miseries, was the pilot who, as it had been well said, gathered the storm which now required such a united effort to allay. Where now were the Pitt-dinners to record the career of that minister? A puny effort had been made to get up one in that county, which he regretted did not succeed; for he was persuaded that if the company had met, the opportunity would be taken by men like Alderman Thurtell, who would come forward for the purpose of correcting the errors into which they had been betrayed by the advocates of the Pitt system. He had no doubt that there were many who would, if allowed the opportunity, take their leave, as Alderman Thurtell had done, of the politics of the Pitt-school; for he firmly believed, that its general supporters in the country had now abandoned it. That there was a description of people who had amassed wealth under it, at the expense of their country, who still retained some gratitude for the source of so much wealth and emolument, he was perfectly prepared to believe; but they were only the fragments of the pile, and, with a few of the clergy perhaps, its last adherents; but the

great bulk of the nation had no common feeling with them, (hear, hear.) He greatly feared that there was a wicked and bloody set of men, bent upon establishing arbitrary power in this country by means of military despotism.

Mr. W. SMITH, his health been drank, addressed the company. That such a meeting should be held to commemorate Mr. Fox's principles so many years after his death, was in itself its greatest eulogy, (applause.) What were the different circumstances under which the commemorations of Mr. Pitt and Mr. Fox took place? The one had for 25 years dispensed the patronage and wealth of this great country, and created around him a host of dependants whom he had enriched for their attachment. Yet with all these stimulating and powerful means for the preservation of his name, his adherents had fallen off, and confessed the delusion under which many of them had acted; but very different were the circumstances under which the attachment of Mr. Fox's friends had been formed. Their tribute to the great ascendancy of his mind had grown up amid the poverty, and sometimes unpopularity, of their leader; for often was it his lot to be assailed by the ungrateful people, for whose protection he was struggling against the engines of power. It was this distinction in the fortunes of these two Ministers, that at this distance of time, when opinions could be estimated by their consequences, placed Mr. Fox's fame upon so high a pinnacle (applause).

The CHAIRMAN, in proposing the next toast, said, that he should not trespass long upon the attention of his audience, as an anecdote, which he recollects of the late Sir Philip Francis, warned him of the impropriety of so doing. His Royal Highness, who was well acquainted with Sir Philip Francis, could bear testimony to the eagerness of mind and impetuosity of temper which so much amused and delighted the friends of that celebrated individual. Sir Philip Francis was once in the presence of a person of the very highest consideration in this country, who was relating a story in a very round-a-bout sort of a manner, indeed, just as he (the noble chairman) might be then doing. Sir Philip Francis bore for some time with the tediousness of the narrator, but at last he forgot all decorum, and cried out with his characteristic impatience, "The result, Sir, in the name of mercy, the result," (laughter.) He would not give an opportunity of a similar interruption. The toast spoke for itself. Its object in spite of all that could be said or done, would inevitably come at last;—"A speedy and effectual reform in the representation of the people in Parliament" (repeated cheers.)

The Duke of SUSSEX, excusing the Chairman on account of the relative situation in which he stood, gave "Lord Bury."

Lord BURY said that he was sorry to observe, that Ministers had flourished and grown great at the very period that the country had been impoverished by the system they had pursued. That system was to divide those whom they had to govern—to set the agriculturist against the manufacturer, and the manufacturer against the agriculturist—to employ spies, to calumniate their opponents, and to degrade the Royal Family in the estimation of the kingdom (cheers.) The ruinous measures which they were daily pursuing, could only

be counteracted by withholding the supplies, and cutting down the expenditure by which they were supported (cheers.)

"Lord Holland, the representative of the name and principles of Mr. Fox," (great cheering.)

"Mr. Honywood, Member for Kent."

Mr. HONYWOOD said, that he had been educated in the principles of Mr. Fox, and his riper judgment fully adopted them. If Mr. Fox's warning voice had been listened to, such calamities would not have fallen upon the nation; they would have seen a population of moral and industrious habits, instead of a population degraded and demoralized; they would have seen a population among whom crime was comparatively unknown, instead of a population which was daily filling our gaols with criminals of every description. The only way of removing or remedying the great and crying evils of which every man had now reason to complain, was by destroying the cause of them. Oppressive taxation was the cause, extensive retrenchment the cure; but that cure could never be obtained but by a reformed Parliament (cheers.)

The Duke of NORFOLK gave—“Mr. James Macdonald, M. P.”

Mr. MACDONALD said—Mr Fox was a man who sincerely loved the people, and desired their happiness; who was the uniform denouncer of war, and friend of peace; whose mind was as much distinguished for its energy, as his heart for its tenderness; who never entertained one mean or selfish thought, but lived and acted solely for the well-being of his country, and the amelioration of mankind, (loud cheers.) Were not the present times when it was expedient to hold up to public imitation such merits and such virtues? Let the meeting contrast with the manly counsels which he would have given, the shabby, shuffling counsels which have been exhibited during the last six years, (cheers.) Let them contrast with his constant and undeviating rectitude the bold encroachments and base compliances—the blustering menaces and abject entreaties of which the Ministers of the Crown, during that period, had repeatedly made use, (cheers.) If they neglected the great paramount duty of attending at such meetings as the present, the game was up with them—their chance was lost, and no alternative would remain to them except a desperate tyranny, or a desperate revolution, (loud cries of hear.) The necessity of a Reform in Parliament, he must again repeat it, was becoming every day more and more apparent. Even those, who had formerly disputed that point, were now obliged to concede it. For his own part, ever since he had had the honor of a seat in Parliament, he had supported the necessity of reforming it, (cheers.) And whatever obligations he might feel to those who sent him, he would not consent to sit there one moment longer than he had the power of voting for the application of that elementary cure to the diseases of the Constitution—reform in Parliament—(warm cheers.) The eloquent gentleman afterwards animadverted in the most pointed language to the nipping of the flower of freedom in Italy, while yet in the bud, by the instruments of the Holy Alliance. Having alluded to the struggle of the Greeks against the Turks, he proceeded:—Where was the man, with one spark of

generous feeling, that did not wish the Greeks success over the cruel tyrants who had for so many years lorded over them? He was sure that every man who he then saw around him, earnestly wished for the emancipation of that great but unfortunate nation, (cheers.) But did they imagine that Lord Londonderry wished it? (Cries of "No") No: the cry of Downing street was—"The Sublime Ottoman Porte, and the cause of legitimacy;" for the Sublime Ottoman Porte, though an unholy member, still was a member of the Holy Alliance, (laughter.) He trusted, however, that that legitimate power, the Ottoman Porte, would not succeed in crushing the rising energies of Greece: but whether it did or not, it was impossible to deny, that since their last meeting, the cause of liberty had advanced in Europe, not indeed with the aid, but in despite of the effects of England to prevent it. In France indeed, measures were under discussion which were destructive of the very appearance of liberty. It was worth while to see the protection which a legitimate Monarch gave to his people, to whom he had previously given a piece of paper which he thought fit to denominate a charter, (laughter.) Not only was it proposed to abolish the use of juries in all offences of the press, but with one fell blow to abolish it altogether. Such were the blessed effects of the friendship of the Allied Sovereigns to France; and from the effects of such a friendship he prayed God that this country might be always delivered, (cheers.) If the people in England should allow these violent infractions of public to pass by in silence, and without expressing their indignation against those who committed them, their own Constitution would soon undergo a very material change indeed.

The CHAIRMAN said he had seen a farrier's bill lately, of which the only item was "For curing your horse till it died, so many pounds." He supposed that the item of services performed by most of the pensioned gentry would be of a similar nature. It might, perhaps, run thus, "For taking care of the interests of the country until they were annihilated, such an annuity for life," (cheers.) "May all corrupt advisers of the Crown meet their just punishment in the general execration of the country." (Great Applause.)

Mr. LENNARD, M.P. said it was quite manifest that the principles of Mr. Fox, which had been so well illustrated in America, and which alone could form the basis of a free government, would speedily have a more signal triumph than any which they had yet obtained. The delusion of the Pitt system, which rested on a vast paper currency, was rapidly approaching to its end. Without a considerable Reform in Parliament, the people would not be able to obtain any real improvement in their situation. From the approaching meeting of that body, nothing was to be expected save partial measures. The motion to repeal the six acts which had been coupled with his name by the Noble Chairman, had received little support. Though two of them were most hostile to the liberty of the press and the exercise of the right of petition, his motion to repeal them met with less discussion than any ordinary turnpike bill. Mr. Denman, whose support was valuable to every cause that he espoused, was the only member of opposition that had spoken in behalf of it, though Mr. Coke, their represen-

tative, and a few other independent members of Parliament, had voted in its favor.—The support of those gentlemen had confirmed him in his intention to proceed at some future period with the same motion, (cheers.) "Earl Grey and the friends who adhered to the principles of Mr. Fox." (Loud cheers.)

The CHAIRMAN, in giving "Sir Francis Burdett," said that during the greater part of his political life he had differed from the Honorable Baronet. They were now perfectly agreed.—They were agreed, because they knew that such an union alone could save the remnant of their liberties and property, (cheers.) They were agreed, because it was their anxious wish to see the constitution administered in justice, purity, and economy,—(cheers.)—They were agreed, because they knew at the present moment it was not so administered—because they felt that a change, not merely of the members, but of the system of administration, was imperatively called for by the exigencies of the state—because they were aware that such a change could not be effected without a thorough reform in the Commons House of Parliament, (loud cheering.)

The toast was drank with loud cheers.

Mr. E. TAYLOR read a letter from Sir Francis, in which he said the late Norfolk meeting appeared to him perfect in every part.

The Noble CHAIRMAN should not wish the meeting to separate without some allusion being made to the infamous Bill of Pains and Penalties, which could never be sufficiently execrated—which ought never to be permitted to be forgotten, (loud cheers.) He was the more inclined to allude to that unjust and odious measure, because there was no topic so obnoxious to ministers and their creatures, (cheers.) They objected to it more than to any other, and used the strangest argument in the world to deprecate the discussion of it. If any thing was said against it, the answer immediately was, "You must not mention that subject, because it excited indignation from one end of the country to the other." As well might a convict say to his judge—"True it is, my Lord, that I have been guilty of a most atrocious crime—true it is that I have excited by it general indignation; but for God's sake let the subject drop, as the revival of it is to me a very unpleasant subject," (laughter.) Last year ministers had subjected an illustrious individual to a trial where it was impossible that justice could be obtained, (cheers.) This year they had condemned another individual, without even the form or shadow of a trial. (Great cheering.)

"Sir Robert Wilson, and may the English soldier never forget his rights and duties as a citizen," (shouts and applause.) "Lord Suffield," (great applause.)

The Duke of Sussex in giving "The brave yeomanry of the county of Norfolk," said that if the cavalry in another county had really been yeomen, the county could never have witnessed the disgraceful outrage committed at Manchester. In allusion to the six acts his Royal Highness said, that they had begun by passing an Alien act in compliment to the Holy Alliance. What happened since? Why six infamous acts had crept into their statute-book again; their own liberties, (cheers.) A property tax he for one would resist, foot by foot and inch by inch, (cheers.)

"Mr. Hume, to whom our gratitude is due for the complete detection and exposure of the system of corruption."

The company separated about one in the morning.

The Norfolk Meeting was graced by the presence of a Royal Duke justly celebrated for his virtuous, independent, consistent, and liberal conduct in public and private life; by that of the first peer of the realm, of a man who is at once its best agriculturist, and one of its most upright legislators; and of many other gentlemen equally respectable for their rank, property, and principles. Several of the ministerial papers have had the extreme indiscretion to censure the Duke of Sussex for attending the celebration of Mr. Fox's birth-day, and for taking a part opposed to the King's Government. Surely these men must intend to cast underhand censure on the King himself. They cannot have forgot that Mr. Fox was, to his dying day, the bosom friend of his present Majesty, who from his 20th to his 50th year decidedly entertained, and spiritedly and constantly professed, the principles of that illustrious statesman. They will not have the hardihood to censure political consistency, or the steady maintenance of opinions confirmed by the reflection of experience of more than thirty years. It is true the Duke of Sussex blames a war, to which the King himself was opposed. It is true that he condemns an association, instituted under pretence of defending the constitution, but really to restrict the liberty of the press, and which public opinion only has rendered nearly harmless. It is true that he abhors the system of malignant slander established by the supporters of the John Bull. It is true that he still advocates the reform in Parliament, which the Prince of Wales and Mr. Pitt once advocated. It is true that he ridicules that "Holy Alliance," whose avowed and unholly object is to establish the absolute power of Kings, and to crush the friends of freedom throughout the continent. If, in holding those sentiments and principles, he opposes his Majesty's ministers, doubtless he glories in the opposition, and will no more be daunted by the abuse of hirelings and apostates, than he has been seduced by the smiles of men at court.

#### *At a Meeting of the Constitutional Society,*

*August 2, 1782.*

**Resolved**, That the following Letter written by a Member of this Society, be printed in the public Papers:

To the People of Great-Britain,

**Friends, Countrymen, and Fellow-Citizens,**

To a weak, wicked, and profligate Administration, and to a corrupt and venal Parliament, may be attributed all the Disasters that have befallen this unhappy country.

Britain has been rent asunder by its own Hands, and its Empire divided, to fill the Pockets of a few rapacious Men.

The House of Commons, which ought to be the real Representatives of the people, are now universally known, and acknowledged to be the Dependents of the King's Ministers and the Tools and Engines of that Power which they were intended to check and control.

That beautiful Fabric which our Forefathers, at the Expence of every Thing that was dear to them, so admirably constructed and formed on the wisest principles, which the Crown heretofore looked to with Awe and Reverence, has been sapped and undermined by that undue Influence, which has pervaded every Department of the State, and made us inglorious to all the World. It is this cursed, this detested Influence, that every Man who has the least Spark of an Englishman left in him, ought to oppose, and endeavour to reduce and annihilate.

But it may be asked, How is this to be done?—To which I answer, by the People petitioning Parliament for their just Rights—for a more free and equal representation, and for shortening the Duration of Parliament.

For nothing can be so effectual a Bar to the Encroachments of the King's ministers, or so radical a Cure for the Corruption and Venality of the Times, as a free and universal Representation of the People, and a frequent Call upon them for a Choice of Representatives. The Hands of Government would then, instead of being weakened by Ambition or the Lust of Individuals, be strengthened and upheld by the Integrity of Men, who would only live by the Breath of the People, and whose Power would instantly cease the Moment they departed from that Line of Conduct.

You then, my Friends and Fellow-Citizens, must restore your Country to its former Splendor and Greatness, by an internal Reform of that Branch of the Legislature, which should speak no other sentiments than your own, and be dependent on none but yourselves.

Let me then exhort you, by every Thing that is dear to Englishmen—by the sacred Remembrance of those who spilled their Blood in Defence of the Constitution, as well as those who wisely framed it, to animate and encourage each other to sign the Petitions now circulating for a more equal Representation, and shortening the Durations of Parliament—to strike the Iron now it is hot, now the Minister has pledged himself in Behalf of the People, and not let, by our Negligence and criminal Indifference, our Children and Posterity lose the Blessing we so many Years have in vain been struggling for.

We have hitherto shewn our Zeal and Patriotism for Individuals, who have deserved well of their Country. Let us now unite in the common Cause, and convince these, who had but one Doubt, that it is the Sense of the People, that there should be Reform in Parliament, and that the Language of the Petitions is the Language of every Englishman's Heart:

THOMAS YEATES, Sec:

#### *Earl Grosvenor, on Reform.*

Earl Grosvenor speaking of reform said, "it is that which, when arrested, compressed, and confined, will in its expansion carry all before it; it will break opposing

bayonets, and bolts, and bars to atoms; and still more powerful gold will vainly endeavour to restrain it. If you heap Pelion upon Ossa, it will dash them in its struggles to fragments. If it hold that rational freedom is the right of a people, they will become rationally free; if it deem moderate reform necessary, moderate reform will prevail; if it consider that abuses shall be rectified, abuses will cease. All history proclaims the triumph of public opinion. What put down the tyranny of James II.? A single shout, the echo of the public opinion, which resounded from Westminster Hall at the acquittal of the seven Bishops. What accomplished the French Revolution? Not, surely, the small handful of men who stormed the Bastile; but the sentence which public opinion had pronounced upon the tyranny of the Government, the vices of the state, and the condition of the nobility."

*Copy of a Letter from a Friend to R. Milnes,*  
12th April, 1821.

SIR,

I thank you very sincerely for the compliment you have paid me, in sending me your philanthropic and patriotic observations upon the causes of the cure of the evils under which our once happy country is now suffering. It has been my fate to see nations that enjoyed, and nations that were deprived of that freedom, which God has intended as the birth-right of all mankind; and I have invariably observed, that their internal happiness and prosperity corresponded with the degree of liberty and freedom which prevailed amongst them. Such being the case, I have ever felt anxious that England, which has so nobly maintained her independence against foreign foes, should not allow her constitution to be undermined by domestic traitors, who, for their own private ends, are exerting themselves to calumniate whatever is good, generous or virtuous, amongst us, and by the undue influence of corruption, are endeavouring to establish the worst of all tyrannies, "a despotism in the name of the law." I certainly do not look upon the evils you enumerate as the first cause of the distress that pervades all ranks; I merely regard them as arising from the one great source which has produced all the injustice, extravagance, and oppression which has for some years back marked our foreign and domestic policy, "the want of a House of Commons really elected by and representing the sense of the people." Had the nation been actually represented by men who had their country's good alone at heart, the waste of the public money which we have witnessed, and the system of corruption and oppression that threatens the ruin of the Empire, would certainly never have been tolerated.

As things are, reform will become every day more difficult of attainment, unless the people will give the important subject their most serious attention, and discover that they all think alike upon it, with very few exceptions. But unless it is prevented, slavery will inevitably be in time our lot, and then, as is now the case in Spain, it is to be feared, all the miseries of anarchy and revolution will inevitably follow.

### Queries to Mr. Ricardo.

To the Editor of the Morning Chronicle.

Sir,

Permit me, through the medium of your Paper, to propound the following queries to Mr. Ricardo;

1. Is not the cause of the present distress of the Farmer the want of a remunerating price for his produce?

2. Is not the cause of that want of a remunerating price the expence of production, as compared with the actual value of produce?

3. Is not taxation the most formidable item in the expence of production?

4. Is not taxation, therefore, the specific cause of the distress—inasmuch as it absolutely prevents the existing price of produce from being a remunerating price?

5. Is it not impossible, without ruin to the manufacturing interest, and destruction to our foreign trade (now just beginning to breathe) to force up the price of agricultural produce?

6. Is not therefore the diminution of the expences of production the specific remedy for the existing Agricultural distress?

7. Is not an extensive repeal of taxes the only measure by which Ministers can assist in the accomplishment of that object?

8. Would not the repeal of taxes, conjoined with the lowering of rents, completely remove Agricultural distress, by making the present prices remunerative?

9. Would not this course, combined with severe economy, place the public credit of the country on the firmest possible foundation?

10. Will not any other measures of a merely temporary nature ultimately injure all parties, delude the country and speedily bring again upon our heads all the evils which they might pretend to remove?

I am, Sir, your obedient Servant,

Feb. 12, 1822.

COMES.

*Earl Fitzwilliam, Sir George Saville and  
Mr. Pitt.*

*Leeds Mercury, 19th January, 1822.*

The present deeply depressed state of the Agricultural Interest has occasioned several County Meetings to be held in the South, in order to deliberate on the means of relief; and it is highly probable that, before the assembling of Parliament, many other meetings of the same kind will take place. The landlords and farmers have indeed the greatest reason to complain; the first have sustained a very large reduction of their income, and the second are for the most part living upon their capitals. It was stated six months ago in the Report of the Agricultural Committee, and has since been fully confirmed, "that at the present price of corn, the returns to the occupier of an arable farm, after allowing for the interest of his investment, are by no means adequate to the charges and outgoings, of which a

"considerable proportion can be paid only out of the 'capitals, and not from the profits, of the tenantry.' An evil like this, affecting so vitally the whole agricultural population of the kingdom, is national, and demands the immediate and serious attention of Parliament. It is supposed, on good grounds, that the value of the agricultural produce of the kingdom has within the last ten years fallen off one-half; and during that time the weight of taxation, notwithstanding the subtraction of the Property and Husbandry Horse Taxes, has considerably increased. Wheat, which sold at twelve shillings per bushel, now sells at six, and the value of other grain, as well as of live stock, has fallen off in an equal proportion. While the present rate of taxation continues, it is impossible for the tenant to live, without such a reduction of rent as would make the income of the landlord almost nothing: the landlord feels this and acknowledges it, he makes an abatement in his rents, but knowing that this is insufficient, and apprehending that he will soon be left without a tenant, he joins the farmer most cordially in his well-founded complaints. Rents must undoubtedly be greatly lowered throughout the kingdom, or the owner and the tenant will be ruined together. Earl Fitzwilliam, ever among the foremost in acts of patriotism, justice, and humanity, has set a Noble example in the reduction of his rents to his Northamptonshire tenants, not less than 35 or 45 per cent. He has found, from experience, that the tenant cannot pay a higher rent, if he maintains his family with decency. It is even doubtful whether, ultimately, he will be able to pay a rent near so high, seeing that agricultural produce is sinking fast to its former level, while the taxes are four times their former amount. The landlord, therefore, who, during the war, thought himself a much richer man than he had been, and therefore eagerly supported the system by which these wonderful effects were produced, will now find himself a much poorer man than he ever was, since he will receive not merely a less amount of rents, but will out of that less amount have to pay a prodigiously increased weight of taxes. To such agriculturists as are hampered with mortgages, this state of things must bring speedy and inevitable ruin; many of those who have purchased their lands during the high prices of the war will be involved in deep distress: and all, except the immoderately rich, must reduce their expenditure to their means, by the abandonment of much display and many luxuries. In this state of the Agricultural Interest, they very naturally meet together to confer, and to petition Parliament for relief. It is very gratifying to observe how much narrow political prejudices of all kinds are on the wane: in all these meetings we hear scarcely a word of that old and favorite cry of the farmers—for high prices. When they were formerly in this state for a time, that cry was universal, and very few of them doubted its justice and propriety; but now there are few comparatively who utter it; the yell which Ministers and the Pittites put before their faces is torn off, and they see with great plainness that it is an enormous taxation by which they are overwhelmed. Even the farmers, slow as they are of comprehension, seem at length to understand that for the last three years nearly they have monopolized the home market, and that beyond monopoly protection

cannot go. Since, therefore, prices cannot be raised to a level with their outgoings, the outgoings must be reduced to the level of the prices; this step towards the truth they have also taken, and are consequently petitioning from many parts of the kingdom for reduced taxation. One step further we believe they will yet be driven to by distress; finding that a corrupt parliament can be induced by ministers to refuse them efficient relief, they will come to the conclusion that that Parliament must be reformed. Our account of the Agricultural Meeting in Norfolk will show, that the farmers and landholders there have come to this opinion very generally, and have now expressed it very decidedly. What hope of relief, indeed, can there be from a House of Commons, which, during a whole session, voted for keeping every establishment of state at nearly a war expenditure, in defiance of all expostulation and warning, in defiance of the sense and sufferings of the country, when there was such room for retrenchment, that ministers themselves began the work immediately after the session had ended? How gross must be the subserviency of such a body! how far must it have departed from its original intent, of being a check for the people upon the crown? The Agriculturists of Norfolk, with the Earl of Albemarle, Mr. Coke, and Lord Suffield at their head, say truly—"that the amount of the public expenditure, and consequently of public demands by direct and indirect taxation, is the plain unquestionable cause of their present sufferings; and that the only safe and practicable remedy is to be found in such a diminution of those demands as may enable the farmer to grow his produce at a reasonable rate, and thus equally spread the benefit of its influence through every class of society throughout the kingdom." We are afraid that no mere reduction in the expenditure of the country, though performed with the most rigid care, will replace the farmer in the situation from which he has fallen; but it is most obvious that the first operation ought to be rigorous retrenchment, and that other steps should then be taken according to the necessity which may yet remain for them. But we entertain very small hopes that any economy worth the name will be practised by the present House of Commons; and, to speak candidly, our wishes for that event scarcely exceed our hopes. We are convinced that the only safety for the country is in reform, and equally convinced that reform will never be accomplished but through the severe pressure of misery. That clear-sighted and upright patriot, Sir George Savile, long ago expressed this sentiment. "Dearly," he said "as he loved his country, and much as he might expose himself to censure for divulging such an idea, he could not avoid confessing that, for some years past, he had not received what was called good news with any considerable degree of pleasure. To him, they were as viands to a sick man, which palled upon the appetite. He was sensible that no circumstance, short of the deepest and most ignominious calamity, could introduce a reformation, and bring back to their senses and to virtue an infatuated and degenerate people." The system of Mr. Pitt may yet prove beneficial to the nation, and he himself though he apostatised from his first principles, may yet be the means of introducing, by the miseries he has heaped

upon the people, that reform, which his direct efforts failed to obtain. The nation, and particularly the suffering agriculturists, will no doubt observe with lynx-eyed attention the conduct of ministers and of the parliament during the next session. They will discover, by the speech from the throne, whether the former intend retrenchment, and by the address whether the latter will enforce it. They will sagaciously discriminate between profession and performance: they will mark the conduct of Mr. Hume and his friends, in contrast with that of the direct opponents and the more secret enemies of reform: indeed they have done this already, as the expressed gratitude of so many cities and towns to Mr. Hume demonstrates. But certainly the vigilance of the people over their representatives will be more strict now than it has ever been, and the consequences of prolonged misconduct will be loud and general cries for reform.

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*The Influence of the Crown, as described by Mr. Pitt and by the Leeds Intelligencer.*

The Intelligencer, speaking of Mr. Brougham's intended motion on the influence of the crown, says—

"Mr. Brougham cannot persuade the people of England or their representatives, to believe, that the influence of the Crown is greater than absolute necessity demands, or that it in any way interferes with their liberty, their happiness, their enjoyments, or their prosperity." "To the people of England this influence ought to be sacred, as their safeguard from oppression, as their protection from anarchy."

Mr. Pitt, in his speech in the House of Commons on the 7th of May, 1782, says—

"The influence of the crown is an influence of the most pernicious kind; and at all times it has been pointed out as the most fertile source of all our miseries. It has been substituted in the room of wisdom, of activity, of exertion and of success." "Nothing is more necessary and essential to the permanent interests of this country, than the total overthrow and extinction of this influence."

The Editor of the Intelligencer is continually involving himself in difficulties; last week he unwittingly charged the King with having held principles fatal to the stability of the English throne; and this week he has brought himself to issue with Mr. Pitt, by ranking amongst the first of our political blessings that influence, which the statesman he affects to admire has denounced as the fertile source of all our miseries.

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*Lines written in Thornhill Church, near Wakefield, Yorkshire, where the late Sir George Saville is interred, August, 1788,*

**BY MRS. COLLINGS, OF HULL.**

If truest virtue and exalted fame  
Can ere preserve a Patriot's sacred name;

Saville's must live revered with just applause,  
Whose ruling passion was his country's cause,  
Who nobly strove her freedom to maintain,  
And guard the blessing thro' her wide domain:  
Yet here his honor'd corpse neglected lies,  
No sculptur'd marble guides our longing eyes,  
Where we may sadly drop the grateful tear,  
Or breathe the heartfelt sigh around his bier;  
But faithful history will his loss deplore,  
And paint those virtues we behold no more.

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*Quotations from Blackstone.*

Nothing says Blackstone "ought to be more guarded against in a free state than making the military power, when such a one is necessary to be kept on foot, a body too distinct from the people. The soldiers should live intermixed with the people: no separate camp, no barracks, no inland fortresses should be allowed; and perhaps it might be still better, if, by dismissing a stated number, and enlisting others at every renewal of the term, a circulation should be kept up between the army and the people, and the citizen and the soldier be more intimately connected together." B. I. Chap. 13. We have, alas! departed from the wise principles here laid down, and are now beginning to taste the fruits of our deviation.

Is there not a grand principle in English jurisprudence laid down by our highest law authorities, that the accused in all cases shall have the privilege of challenging jurors, in order that no man, either interested or merely prejudiced against him, may sit in judgment upon his guilt or innocence. Jurors (says Blackstone) may be challenged for suspicion of bias or partiality. A principle challenge is such, where the cause assigned comes with it evident marks of suspicion, either of malice or favor: as that a juror of kin to either party within the 9th degree; that he has been arbitrator on either side; that he has an interest in the cause; that there is an action depending between him and the party; that he has taken money for his verdict; that he is the parties master, servant, counsellor, steward, or attorney, or of the same society or corporation with him. All these are principle causes of challenge; which, if true, cannot be overruled, for jurors must be (wholly unexceptionable.)

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*Barrack System.*

The House having resolved itself into a Committee of Supply, a great number of sums were voted for various purposes. On a grant of £241,000 being moved for the expense of the barrack department, an animated discussion arose—Mr. Hume, Mr. Bennet, and others, strongly condemning the system of covering the country with barracks, thereby tacitly confessing that the British Constitution, which had hitherto been our boast as the choice of a free people, could now only be maintained by force of arms. There was no other Government in Europe that was obliged to have recourse to an increase

of troops, and to the erection of internal fortresses. Where would this end? if, in every town and village in which any appearance of disquiet were manifested a barrack was to be built. What necessity was there for an additional barrack at Barnsley or Carlisle? If, as Ministers said, the feeling of the people were so much alienated from the Government, that they were obliged to have recourse to building barracks within four miles of each other over the country, it was high time to institute an inquiry how this awful and melancholy change had taken place, and how it could be permanently remedied. Whatever the state of the country was, it should be recollected that it arose from the system of internal policy pursued by his Majesty's Ministers. It was that policy which created the discontent, to whatever extent it existed, and to cover the country with barracks was an avowal that Ministers were determined to keep down the discontents of the country by the sword. There were already no less than 97 barracks in the country—The Chancellor of the Exchequer alleged that Government were unwillingly forced on the erection of these additional barracks; that applications were made for them by the Magistrates of different places, and that Government considered it as their duty to protect the peaceable and industrious against the danger to which their lives and their property were subject from the disaffected. It was desirable, under existing circumstances, that the soldiers should not be mingled with a disturbed and agitated population. The extent of so large a military expenditure was to be regretted, but it was inevitable.—Mr. T. Wilson considered the speeches of the Opposition calculated to increase the feeling of discontent which now prevailed in the country. The House divided on the grant in question and it was carried by 72 against 30.

The £5,000,000 Annuity and Watch and Ward Bills were read a third time and passed.

### *His Royal Highness the Duke of Sussex's Visit to York.*

*August, 1822.*

We have this week been honored with the company of his Royal Highness the Duke of Sussex, who has been received with every mark of loyalty and esteem due to his illustrious family, and we have only to regret, that we had not a more enlarged opportunity of paying him every attention so eminently due to his own personal complacency and dignified deportment amongst us. His Royal Highness arrived on Saturday evening, a little after five o'clock, in a landauette and a pair of horses, followed by his own private carriage and four, with his attendants.

In this unostentatious style, unattended by any escort, the Prince drove to the house of Robert Chaloner, Esq. where he was received and entertained in the most hospitable manner.

On Sunday morning his Royal Highness attended Divine Service at the Cathedral, where the assemblage of persons of all classes, to witness his presence, was more numerous than we have almost ever experienced

upon any former occasion. Upon entering the Cathedral, Dr. Camidge commenced playing the "Hallelujah" chorus of Handel, which continued until his Royal Highness had taken his seat. The solemnity of the service, and the great attention paid by his Royal Highness, added to the most respectful silence of so large a congregation, had a very powerful effect upon the auditory. When the service was concluded, his Royal Highness (who had occupied the Judges' seat) withdrew through the grand entrance under the organ, and proceeded down the middle aisle to the great western door, bowing most courteously to the multitudes who had lined the side aisles to get a view of his person.

In the visit paid by his Royal Highness to the Friend's Retreat, on Sunday afternoon, we learn that he spent upwards of two hours there, and took great interest in inspecting every part of that excellent establishment, which appeared to give him the highest satisfaction.

An invitation had been forwarded to his Royal Highness to Cantley, to honor the Corporation with his company at a public dinner at the Mansion-house, which was fixed for Monday evening at seven o'clock.

MONDAY.—This day, between twelve and one o'clock, (having previously signified his pleasure on the subject) his Royal Highness was waited upon by the Right Hon. the Lord Mayor, accompanied by the Recorder, Aldermen, Sheriffs, Gentlemen of the Twenty Four, the Common Council, &c. in full costume, who went in procession from the Guildhall to the house of Mr. Chaloner; but there being no room in the house large enough to contain all the company assembled, his Royal Highness was pleased to express his wish to receive it in the front of the house, and his Royal Highness stood near a small summer-house. After a few words of introduction by the Lord Mayor, the Recorder read the following address:—

*"To his Royal Highness Augustus Frederick,  
DUKE of SUSSEX.*

*"MAY IT PLEASE YOUR ROYAL HIGHNESS,*

*"The Lord Mayor and Commonalty of the ancient  
City of York, in their own names, and in the names of  
all the inhabitants thereof, humbly offer your Royal  
Highness their warmest thanks for condescending to  
honor them with your presence and countenance.*

*"Your Royal Highness's public and private virtues  
have long been objects of their observation and approba-  
tion; and their estimation of those virtues is not likely  
to be lessened by a more intimate acquaintance with  
your Royal Highness's well-known affability and good  
nature.*

*"The principles that first placed the present illustrious  
family (of which your Royal Highness is an amiable and  
excellent member) upon the Throne of these Realms,  
at the same time established a constitution founded on  
the basis of Liberty and Law; which has nourished a  
manly spirit and proud national character amongst us,  
and has spread the British name and fame, by sea and  
land, to the uttermost ends of the earth.*

*"Reflections from these sources, cannot fail to excite  
in your Royal Highness's generous breast, as they do in*

the hearts of all his Majesty's loyal subjects, the warmest feelings of dignified pride and genuine patriotism.

"Your Royal Highness is humbly requested to accept the Freedom of this ancient City, and to honor it by permitting your Royal Name to be enrolled amongst its Freemen."

*Given under our Common Seal, this 26th Day of August, 1822.*

The Recorder having read the address, he presented the same, and then spoke as follows:—

"Allow me to add, that it gives me real and unaffected pleasure, in thus being favored with an opportunity of testifying, as an individual, my profound respect and veneration for your Royal Highness's general deportment and character, and especially for your patriotic and dignified system of public conduct; and likewise of having the honor to present to your Royal Highness this address of the Lord Mayor and Commonalty of the City of York."

The Duke seemed highly gratified, and immediately replied:—

"My Lord Mayor and Gentlemen of the Commonalty of the ancient City of York, I return you my best thanks for the kind manner in which I have been received by you and the inhabitants of this city on my arrival here, as well as for your very flattering compliment on the occasion."

"It is with pleasure, Gentlemen, that I accept of the Freedom of your ancient City; and I shall always be proud to know that my name is enrolled amongst its Freemen; being assured by you, that I am indebted for this distinction to your approval of those principles which I have hitherto adopted, and ever shall observe for the regulation of my public conduct; having always been taught to believe, that the more attentively and zealously the liberty of the subject is watched and preserved, the greater is the security of the Throne; and, surely, no one can have a greater interest in supporting the Constitution, than a member of the Royal Family, however humble he may be, who derives from it all the blessings he enjoys, and which he is equally anxious, therefore, to secure to his fellow subjects."

The Right Hon. the Lord Mayor then presented to his Royal Highness the Freedom of the City, with the gold box, &c. His Lordship, in presenting them, said, "May it please your Royal Highness to accept the Freedom of the City, with this box; and it is my anxious wish, that you may long live to continue amongst the independent Freemen of this happy country."

The Duke received them, and bowed, evidently with high satisfaction and pleasure. The ceremony thus closed, and as the Corporate Body passed by his Royal Highness, he bowed to each individual with the greatest condescension and affability.

After the presentation of the address, &c. the Corporation, whilst at Mr. Chaloner's, partook of a sumptuous collation, prepared for the occasion, by that liberal Representative of the City.

#### Dinner at the Mansion-House.

According to the determination of the Corporate

Body, a most sumptuous dinner was provided on Monday evening, for his Royal Highness the Duke of Sussex, for the Corporation, and for such other gentlemen as the Right Honorable the Lord Mayor might think proper to invite.

The members of the corporation assembled at the Mansion-house in their official gowns, &c. soon after six, to be ready to receive his Royal Highness. At half-past six his Royal Highness proceeded in an open carriage from Mr. Chaloner's, through an immense concourse of spectators, who had collected in the streets, and at the windows of all the houses in the line to the Mansion-house. His Royal Highness had his hat off and bowed to the multitude in the most complaisant manner, who were highly gratified by his attention.

It was remarked, with peculiar satisfaction, that upon this occasion loyalty and patriotism superseded every consideration of difference in political sentiments in the respectable inhabitants of this ancient and honorable city.

The company assembled in the large room on the ground floor, and the Duke joined them, and conversed very affably with those around him till about a quarter past seven, when the dinner was announced, and the Corporation, preceded by his Royal Highness, the Lord Mayor, &c. repaired into the state room.

There were two large tables down the room, with one at the head, to join them. The Lord Mayor presided, and on his right sat the Duke of Sussex and Mr. Chaloner, and on his left sat the recorder, and the Honorable Thomas Dundas.

In the course of the dinner his Royal Highness very condescendingly took wine with the several members of the Corporate Body. The room was so much crowded, that several gentlemen found it requisite to dine below; for although the notice was so short that many of the leading gentlemen in the county was thereby prevented from attending, yet there were about 150 persons present.

The dinner, which consisted of a profusion of every delicacy, including wines of all descriptions, was over about nine o'clock. A most excellent dessert succeeded; and, considering the shortness of the notice, it is really surprising that the Lord Mayor could have arranged so superior a repast.

The health of our most gracious Sovereign was drank from the gold cup, previous to the second course, with the usual dignified ceremony—three gentlemen standing, two on one side of the table and one on the other, and the toast was passed in this manner throughout the whole company; the band playing "God save the King."

After a number of toasts had been proposed and drank, the Duke of Sussex rose and said, "My Lord Mayor and Gentlemen,—It affords me the highest satisfaction to have another opportunity of expressing to the Corporation, and the other inhabitants of this ancient city, the grateful sensations which animate my bosom for the very handsome treatment which I have received since my arrival in York, (applause.) Gentlemen, it is, in my opinion, the imperative duty of a Prince occasionally to search after

truth, in the assemblies of the people; and it is my pride, as well as a great satisfaction, to mix with my fellow subjects on all occasions—for, by seeing with mine own eyes, and not stuffing my ears, I am enabled to notice things in a very different light to that in which they are otherwise generally represented, (loud and repeated cheers.) Gentlemen, in acting thus, I renounce every feeling but that of a sincere wish to be enabled so to conduct myself, at all times, and on all occasions, as to promote the welfare of my country, to my own satisfaction, and in strict unison with the principles of the constitution, (applause.) I have always highly respected the peculiar privileges of the various orders of society; and, I am sure, that by a jealous and correct admission of the privileges of each, the lowest will properly respect the highest, and the highest will look with the most generous feeling of friendship and benevolence to the lowest, (cheers.) Gentlemen, having been absent from this country eighteen years, I have had an opportunity of noticing, with minute attention, the various revolutions which have taken place in that time, and I have always seen that the revolt of the people arose from a dereliction of the principles of rectitude in the government, (loud and long continued cheers.) Gentlemen, I am most decidedly of the opinion that, in a land of liberty like this, every man should be allowed the full exercise of his rational powers, and never be restricted from the honest expression of upright and liberal sentiments, (loud cheers.) Such, Gentlemen, are the principles which I have been taught; and I have learnt them not in this country alone—I have compared one constitution with another, in distant lands, and I should feel sorry if I should ever have to leave the country where the British constitution was formed, and where it ought to be protected, (cheers.) It is to this constitution that my family are indebted for the honor of reigning amongst you—it is on the principles of this constitution that their happiness and safety depend; and I hope that the moment I forget to cherish the best interests of that country which gave me birth, I hope that moment will close my public life, and also my earthly career, (thunders of applause.) Gentlemen, as to my visit to York, I shall only add, that I have heard much of the loyalty and intelligence of its citizens; but, having now come amongst you, I am more than ever convinced, that those who have honesty enough to speak as they think, are the most deserving of, and the most likely to enjoy the high privileges of civil and religious liberty, (loud cheers.) It is only by thus entering into society, and lending a willing ear to argument, that we can possibly learn the truth, (cheers.) Gentlemen, I again return you my thanks, and conclude by proposing the health of the Right Honorable the Lord Mayor.

The Duke now sat down amidst applause the most unbounded.

His Royal Highness afterwards again shortly addressed the Meeting, and proposed the following most excellent and constitutional toast:—

“The respectability of the crown—the durability of the constitution—and the prosperity of the people.”

This toast was received with loud acclamation, and

was drank with repeated cheers. It was then about a quarter past eleven, and the Duke retired amidst the loud cheering of the company.

On Tuesday, about two o'clock in the afternoon, his Royal Highness left York, having, by his affability and consistency, during his short stay, greatly increased the number of his personal friends, and of his warm political admirers. He intended to pursue the following route, as nearly as unforeseen circumstances would allow:—Tuesday night he would arrive at Catterick-Bridge—on Wednesday, at Lambton-Hall—Monday, Sept. 2, at Sir Matthew White Ridley's—Wednesday, Sept. 4, at Earl Grey's, Howick—Monday, Sept. 9, at Raby Castle, the princely seat of the Earl of Darlington—on the 15th at Caniley, the seat of M. A. Taylor, Esq.—on the 18th, at Newstead Abbey—and on the 24th at Helkham, the residence of T. W. Coke, Esq.

### Spy System.

To the Editor of the *Leeds Mercury*.

Aberdeen, May 15th, 1820.

Sir,—The shameful levity and insolent tone of defiance with which the Ministerial Members of the House of Commons treated the motion of Alderman Wood on the subject of Edwards the spy, are such an outrage against moral feeling and decency of manners as never before was exhibited in that assembly.

The conduct of Alderman Wood is above all praise. His open, manly, and intrepid endeavours to elicit truth, his high sense of moral obligation, his honest reprobation of the baseness of that man whom Ministers attempt to screen, entitle him to the gratitude of his country. Ministers are little acquainted with the high spirit of the people of England, if they imagine, that the paltry sneers of Mr. Canning, or the pleadings of a Crown Lawyer in the House of Commons, can stifle that feeling of honest indignation which the crimes of such a miscreant as Edwards excite. That Thistlewood and his associates were profligate and unprincipled men, no one who has read their own declarations will deny. But that they ever would have combined and conspired to assassinate Ministers, unless they had been instigated by Edwards, and furnished with money and with arms, few will now believe. Ministers were never even suspected to have known of this instigation, till now that they attempt to screen the person accused of such deliberate baseness. If Edwards was simply an informer and not an instigator, why refuse to inquire into the part he truly acted. Such an inquiry would establish a distinction between the evidence of an accomplice which the law allows, and the evidence of one who acts upon a plan of cool and deliberate instigation. It appears from the depositions brought forward by Alderman Wood, that Edwards sought out the most needy and desperate and irreligious men he could find; he wrought upon their wretchedness and desperation, and furnished them with arms, money, and opportunity, for the commission of that assassination which he contrived. Contrast the feelings of the populace of London on the detection of the conspirators and on the day of their execution; they rejoiced in the detection

and prevention of so wicked a project; they cheered the Bow-street Officers when they dragged the conspirator Thistlewood from his place of concealment; they were satisfied with the verdict of the Jury against men who had dared to justify the crime of assassination. This feeling of condemnation, however, was changed into one of compassion, when it appeared that these poor wretches had been the victims of seduction. If Ministers wish that the country at large should sympathize in the justice of that law by which the conspirators suffered they should not attempt to screen the man who is accused of having prompted them. If in employing Edwards as a spy, Government meant only that he should watch the motions of the conspirators with a view to give such information as should defeat the execution of the intended assassination then the moment he went beyond this, he was guilty of treachery even to Ministers. However the members of his Majesty's Government may repose in the security of the power, they may rest assured, that this is the impression which the whole complexion of the case must necessarily make, and has made, upon the mind of the disinterested part of the public.

I am, Mr. Editor, yours respectfully, X. Y.

### Benevolence.

All our conduct towards men, should be influenced by this important precept, do unto others, as you would that others should do unto you. Feeding the hungry, clothing the naked, comforting the afflicted, yield more real pleasure than we receive from those actions which respect only ourselves. Benevolence may, in this view, be termed the most refined self-love.

### Poetry.

#### DEATH.

Yes! ruthless Monarch! soon or late,  
All, all must yield to thy stern power—  
Though lurking in the womb of fate,  
As yet unknown that solemn hour.  
  
I scorn'd thee when the smiling Spring  
Blush'd on these cheeks with rosy hue—  
And, then, I thought thou couldst not bring  
My sentence with the Summer's dew.  
  
But in the Autumn of my life,  
Whilst trembling leaves around are falling,  
I know that we must live at strife,  
And daily now expect thy calling.  
  
The shelter'd leaf on yon tall tree  
May 'scape awhile the wintry blast;  
Mercy may hold her shield o'er me,  
But thee and I must meet at last.

### *History and Death of Mrs. Garrick.*

This lady closed her life on Wednesday night se'nnight, at twelve o'clock, at her house on the Adelphi terrace, Strand, in the 99th year of her age, having survived her

husband, the inimitable David Garrick, 43 years and nine months, he having died on the 26th January, 1779.

Mrs. G. was married in July, 1749. Her maiden name was Violetti, and she was a native of Vienna, but chose, as Murphy says, "To grace herself with an Italian name." From the same authority we learn, that "she was an elegant figure, and as a dancer greatly admired for the uncommon elegance which she displayed in all her movements." In early life she unquestionably possessed great personal attractions, as the portraits of her at Hampton bear witness.

"Signora Violetti," says Murphy, "was patronized by Lord and Lady Burlington, who, it was understood, gave her a fortune of six thousand pounds." This, at least, seems to attach some degree of credit, if it does not confirm the account of this Lady, which is detailed at great length in *Lee Lewis's Memoirs*, vol. ii. page 66, which might otherwise be regarded as a fiction. The following are a few of the particulars of this romantic narrative, and as they seem to have been unknown to, or escaped the notice of, the various biographers of the great actor, and are in themselves not uninteresting, we give them as follow:—

"It is rather singular that Mr. Garrick's numerous biographers should have entirely omitted not the least of the interesting particulars of his marriage with Signora Violetti, particularly as they have thought proper to trouble the world with the most circumstantial and minute account of his foibles, peculiarities and eccentricities.

"The late Earl of Cork and Burlington, that distinguished patron of the fine arts, had, during his tour through Italy, an amour with a young lady of family in the city of Florence. Their intimacy produced, at a naturally expected period, a sweet pledge of their endearments. His Lordship was unfortunately called home before he could have the pleasure of beholding the dear offspring of his tender attachment; and the mother although she was abandoned by her relatives for the disgrace she had brought upon her family, sought in her infant the only comfort she could find for the absence of its father. Family considerations obliged him, after his return from Italy, to form a matrimonial connexion with a native of his own country. But this union of family prudence and accommodation could not obliterate the fond remembrance of his former love, nor the affection which he felt as a parent. In a word he deserted neither the Italian lady nor his child; he sent ample remittances to her, and actually corresponded with her by letters and several trusty messengers, whom he employed for the purpose of hearing faithfully the state of the mother and her infant, who he had every reason to believe was his own. The lovely girl received from her well-bred mother a virtuous and an accomplished education. She was the delight of her parents; and the great advances she made in every branch of politeness and elegance, rendered her capable of adorning the most exalted spheres of life. Unfortunately, before she arrived at womanhood, she lost her mother, whom she had the affliction to see gradually failing the victim of a cause too latent for her to discover; and as her mother never gave her the least personal knowledge of her real father, she thus found herself, at a very early

period of life, in the situation of an orphan, without a parent to guide, protect, or cherish that period of female life, when all around is danger and delusion. She had, however, the satisfaction of learning from her mother that her father was of a family both honorable and noble. His Lordship having early intelligence of the death of the amiable woman, immediately formed a plan for completing the education of his daughter, which the mother had, with his liberal and powerful assistance, considerably advanced towards a state of singular perfection. To effect this desirable purpose, he wrote to a person at Florence, in whom he had great confidence, to take charge of the young creature. This person proved so unfaithful, as to appropriate to himself the greater part of the allowance that should have supported and educated the absent daughter with every splendor and accommodation becoming her descent. She was even thankful to him for an engagement he obtained for her as a dancer in the Opera House of the Great Duke; so much was she deceived by the pretences and representations of this perfidious monster, that she even received the most trifling allowance as the gratuity of his own beneficence! Her appointment as a dancer soon reaching the ears of her Noble Father and protector, made him resolve that she should no longer continue at such a distance from his care and observance. Being arrived at the most precarious time of life, and her situation being, in every respect, truly hazardous, still more determined him to dispatch a messenger for her, who engaged her to come to England at a much greater salary than she could ever possibly expect to have in Italy. The offer was irresistible, and either a presentiment of what followed, or a desire to visit other climes, induced her to take the earliest opportunity of coming to England.

"The period of the arrival of the Signora Violetti was soon after Mr. Garrick (with whom she was engaged) commenced manager of Drury-lane Theatre. The graces that attended her first appearance charmed and possessed every spectator in her favor. 'She won the hearts of all the swains, and rivaled all the fair.' Modesty, like her native handmaid, waited on all her steps; and Dame Fortune, however cruel to others, lavished upon her the most desirable of her bounties.

"My readers must almost anticipate my informing them, that the Noble Lord, her father, although under covert, was not the less zealous or inactive in establishing her reputation. He likewise embraced every opportunity of conversing with his fair offspring in her language, in which he found her possess all the perfection his most anxious wishes could have formed. But these frequent and pleasing conversations to both were not yet sufficiently satisfactory to the parent, who was naturally impatient to have the mutual enjoyment that arises from filial and parental intercourse, uncontrolled by disguise, and unfettered by mystery. Nothing could possibly ease the solicitude of the anxious parent, but providing her an asylum under his own roof. To accomplish this desirable object required the greatest delicacy and discretion. His Lordship being blessed with a daughter\* some years younger than Signora

Violetti, this circumstance suggested to him the idea of having his fair exotic the tutress of her unknown sister. Signora winning incessantly on his affections, increased his impatience to effect his purpose of having her in his family. As his daughter by his lady frequently accompanied him to the Theatre, he availed himself of this circumstance to create an esteem in her for her unknown relation the admired dancer. Particularly specifying her graces and excellences, he soon caused his honorable daughter to feel warmly in the interest of Signora. Finding that he had thus far succeeded in his wishes, he asked her one night, as they were sitting in the stage box, if she would approve of Signora Violetti as companion and tutress in the Italian tongue, in which he informed her that she was most eminently perfect, and that her other accomplishments were equally excellent. He was happy to find his ardent wishes almost anticipated, by the ready and pleased compliance of the young lady. Signora was, therefore, conveyed the same night, in his Lordship's carriage, to the town mansion in Piccadilly.

"This fair and amiable *stranger at home* found her accommodations in that abode of hospitality in every respect equal, and even surpassing, the most sanguine wishes of her heart; and she felt herself for the first time in a state of happiness, in which nature had more concern than reason at present could explain. But as the tenor of human comfort was not meant to consist in a continuity of satisfaction, her's was soon interrupted by him who wounds every breast, either to fill it often with the balm of enjoyment, or the bitterness of affliction. Love sat heavy on her breast, and pallid on her cheek. Her charms withered, and her health decayed; until nature, exhausted, obliged her to recline on the couch of sickness. Here, to the great alarm and concern of her unknown relations, she languished a considerable time. Her amiable pupil was uncommonly concerned; perhaps the ties of nature latently increased the affliction; the ablest physicians were obtained for her relief; but notwithstanding all the care, ability, and tenderness, that were employed for her recovery, the violence of her indisposition frustrated every endeavour. Her own delicacy would not permit her to divulge the secret cause of her malady. Although it threatened her with almost an instantaneous dissolution, yet the hopes of a cure could not induce her to acknowledge herself the victim of affection. His Lordship felt the bitterest pangs of a loving parent, distressed by the visible decline of an amiable daughter. He saw with extreme distress the tender plant that he was with so much care and anxiety fostering, wither beneath the cold hand of an invisible disease. His Lady was likewise greatly affected, and sympathized with her noble partner, for the loss they were likely to sustain. Her Ladyship, however, not despairing for a remedy being found, took the most prudential and effectual method, by delicately searching the tender heart of the afflicted fair one. Dr. Mead, the Esculapius of his day, pronouncing her disorder beyond his power, or even that of medicine, to remove, prompted the good Lady to divine the cause. She was convinced that *love* alone was the disturber of her mind, and the destroyer of her frame. Assured of this, her Ladyship made her fair guest a visit, resolving, if possible, to discover the latent cause of her indisposition. For this

\* She was afterwards married to the Most Noble Marquis of Hartington; who, on the demise of his father, came to the title and estate of the Duke of Devonshire.

purpose she, with great address, asked her where she felt the most pain? and in what manner particularly she was affected? Not receiving to these questions, and some others of a similar nature, the most explicit answers, her first suspicions were still stronger confirmed. With all the tender delicacy, therefore, which distinguished her amiable character, she seized her hand with benign sympathy, and declared she was most extremely happy to have discovered that the cause of her malady was not incurable. ‘The cause is love,’ said she, ‘and for which I think a certain cure may be found.’ The change she perceived this observation made in her fair patient, confirmed its propriety. She then entreated the indisposed damsel to own to her, who was the object of her affection; and promised, upon her honor, not to betray her confidence. She further prevailed, by assuring her that she would, were it possible, obtain for her the object of her languishing desires. ‘I have so great an opinion of your discretion, my dear Signora,’ continued the worthy Lady, ‘that you could not possibly fix your affections on an improper object, that I am the more impatient to know who he is, that I may the sooner find the means of restoring you to your wonted charms, health, and happiness. My Lord is deeply afflicted in consequence of your indisposition. He is, indeed, much more distressed than I could have thought he could, with all his tenderness of nature, have been for any stranger to his blood, even as amiable as you are, my dear Signora.’

‘O, my dear Madam!’ said the much-to-be-pitied young Lady, ‘spare, spare me! I dare not confess my weakness, even to you—all gracious as you have been to your orphan charge. And I cannot express the remorse I feel at my being obliged to behave with ingratitude to your dear Lord, by concealing from him as well as from you, two such generous benefactors, what preys upon my existence, and must finally bear me to my grave.’

‘My dear Signora,’ replied the Lady, ‘tis now in your power to acquit yourself of all conceived obligation to both him and me, by so far convincing us we deserve your confidence as to trust us with the important secret. We would wish to have this assurance of your reposing in our zealous efforts being exerted in your welfare. It is no idle curiosity that urges my entreaty, but an indescribable interest I feel in your favor. Should there be found, upon inquiry, any insuperable bar to an honorable union, that can alone restore you to your former peace of mind, the secret shall ever remain undiscovered to the impertinence of inquiry, or the censure of malignity.’

The above candid, sincere, and interesting declaration of the good Lady was too prevailing. It won at once the confidence and heartfelt gratitude of the afflicted fair one. She confessed ‘that Mr. Garrick was the object of her esteem; but that he was as yet entirely ignorant of being the cause of what she had so severely felt from her tender attachment.

The amiable Lady, with the greatest concern, heard this confession, and told her with symptoms of apprehension, that she feared the possibility of her desires ever being gratified by the attainment of their object; that

Mr. Garrick was a young fellow universally caressed by families of the first distinction, and who had been already suspected of aspiring to rank and fortune in a matrimonial alliance. She represented likewise to her languishing patient many other difficulties; but finding they had visibly affected the tender state of the now all-desponding fair, she assured her that no means should be left untried. She begged that neither languor nor hopeless grief should be suffered to prey any longer on her now almost exhausted frame. ‘Confide,’ said she, ‘in my Lord’s good offices, and be assured of our best efforts being exerted to obtain you consolation and relief.’

His Lordship was rejoiced that his lady had obtained the secret cause of his beloved (although unavowed) daughter’s indisposition; in proportion to its concealment having caused him the greatest uneasiness its discovery afforded him pleasure. Being possessed of the truth, his hopes of his child’s recovery began to revive. Knowing Garrick’s love for money was the ray of his expectation, and the guide of his measures, Mr. Garrick was instantly sent for to his house. He had no sooner arrived, and inquired after the health of Signora, than his Lordship opened the negociation of Hymen, by informing him with a smile, ‘that the lady’s indisposition was not to be removed by any other than one Doctor Garrick, an intimate acquaintance of his.’

‘Pray, my dear Lord,’ said the astonished manager, ‘explain yourself.’

‘Well, Sir,’ answered his Lordship, ‘should you find, upon the strictest inquiry, that Signora Violetti is a lady of family and fortune, and possessed of every virtue indispensable to the honor of the female character, do you think you could satisfactorily receive her from my hands, with a portion of ten\* thousand pounds? And here let me inform you that she is my daughter.’

The enraptured Garrick gave his Lordship ten thousand thanks for the unmerited honor and fortune to which he so unexpectedly, but generously invited him. He at the same time declared, with all due decorum, ‘that the lady was, from the first moment of his acquaintance with her, far from being indifferent to either his views or his wishes; and that he had ever felt more than a common interest in her favor.’

‘You add to my satisfaction, and relieve the parental apprehensions I felt for the recovery of my daughter,’ replied his Lordship; ‘until the cause of her complaint was discovered, the fear of losing my child was my constant affliction. And now, Doctor, if you please, I will conduct you to your patient. My Lady, will, I know, accompany us.’

When Mr. Garrick entered the chamber he flew to the bed-side of his enamoured fair, and acted his part with as much grace, and perhaps more nature, than he had ever performed it on the stage. His Lordship then pleasantly informed her, that her Doctor had been in danger of the same disorder, and from the same cause—an obstinate unnecessary silence. From this auspicious hour the God of health re-bloomed her cheek, and reilluminated her eye. And the English Roscius continued unremitting in his attendance on the young Lady,

\* Mr. Murphy mentions the sum to have been six thousand pounds.

whose cure was speedily effected, to the great joy of the noble family.

"The nuptials being celebrated, Mr. Edward Moore, the ingenious poet, inscribed a very pretty copy of verses to Mrs. Garrick, wherein he describes Fortune in search of a favourite daughter. After many a weary step, she stopped her giddy wheel at Burlington-gate, where she found the object of her inquiry, and lavished on her the choicest of her favours."

"She never told her love, but let concealment like a worm i'th' bud, feed on her damask cheek. She pined in thought, and sat like patience on a monument smiling at grief."

By the death of Mrs. Garrick the library of the British Museum will be further enriched by the addition of her husband's valuable collection of old English plays: besides which, the celebrated statue of Shakespeare, by Roubiliac (of which the one over the fire-place in the rotunda of Drury-lane Theatre is a cast) will grace the hall of that national establishment. The chair, too, made from Shakespeare's mulberry tree, will also, it is supposed, be there deposited. It is richly carved, and would, if put up to auction, fetch an enormous price; as would, doubtless, many other articles of *vertu*, as having once belonged to the "best living commentator" on the works of the Bard of Avon. Amongst these must not be forgotten four originals by Hogarth of the "Election." The fate of these species of saleable property, which were bequeathed to Mrs. Garrick during her life, will shortly be decided by the hammer. The children of Mrs. Garrick, of the Hay-market Theatre, will also, it is said, come in for considerable legacies, in consequence of the decease.

#### POETRY.

##### SONNET,

*On being asked, "How do you like this Country,  
and the Ladies of Halifax?"*

BRIGHT blooms the Spring amid your vales,  
And richest verdure decks your hills;  
While sweetest scents perfume the gates,  
And music flows in parling rills.  
And still more bright, and still more fair,  
Your female Beauties pass along;  
Objects of many an ardent prayer,  
And themes of many a tuneful song!  
Yes, all the charms that Nature pours  
On blossom'd vale, and fruitful field,  
Fair Spring herself, and all her flowers,  
To these more splendid Beauties yield.  
Those that admire, can have one fear alone,  
That like their native hills, they hide a heart of stone!

'A STRANGER.'

Halifax, June 11th, 1801.

*She should, and she should not!*

#### For the HALIFAX JOURNAL.

Mr. Editor,

As you seem friendly to the interests of the Fair Sex, I shall be glad if you will record the following short particulars:—

"A good wife should be like three things, which three she should not be like:—1st. She should be like a snail, always keep within her house; but she should not be like a snail, to carry all she has upon her back. 2d. She should be like an echo, and speak when she is spoken to; but she should not be like an echo, to have the last word. 3d. She should be like a town clock, always keep time and regularity; but she should not be like a town clock, to speak so loud that all the town may hear her." — I beg leave to add, that she should be like the Halifax Journal, full of good things; but she should not be like the Halifax Journal, always in public, with her price in her face!

SOLOMON SHORT.

Halifax, June 10, 1801.

#### Eulogium on Woman.

The following testimony to the universal benevolence of the female character, is borne by Mr. Ledyard, an accurate observer of human nature, and one of the first Geographical Missionaries employed by the African Association:—

"I have always remarked," says he "that women of all countries are civil and obliging, tender and humane, that they ever incline to be gay and cheerful, timidous and modest; and that they do not hesitate, like men, to perform a generous action. Not haughty, not arrogant, not supercilious, they are fond of courtesy, and fond of society, more liable in general to err than man, but in general also more virtuous and performing more good actions than he. To a woman, whether civilized or savage, I never addressed myself in the language of decency and friendship, without receiving a decent and friendly answer. With man it has often been otherwise! In wandering over the barren plains of inhospitable Denmark, through honest Sweden, and frozen Lapland, rude and churlish Finland, unprincipled Russia, and the wide spread regions of the wandering Tartar—if hungry, dry, cold, wet, or sick, the women have ever been friendly to me, and uniformly so; and to add to this virtue, (so worthy the appellation of benevolence) these actions have been performed in so free and kind a manner, that, if I was dry, I drank the sweetest draught, and if hungry, I ate the coarsest morsel with a double relish."

"The importance of woman in society has been universally felt and acknowledged; her influence is potent; to her we are indebted for social comfort, and domestic joy. Let her heart confine her wishes and

affections within the circle of intellectual improvement, domestic duties, and domestic pleasures, and woman becomes what her Creator designed, "a help meet for man;" the gentle friend of his youth, the kind instructor as well as the mother of his children; his counsellor in difficulties; the soother of his sorrow in affliction; and, I might almost add, the arbitress of his fate."

### *Song on the Goodness of Women.*

- 1 The goodness of women, some men will dispute,  
But I will their arguments fairly confute,  
Undeniably prove that they do what they ought,  
And say what you will, they are seldom in fault,  
*Derry down, &c.*
- 2 You sometimes object to their voluble tongues,  
That they harass your ears, and destroy their own  
lungs,  
Should they talk, pretty creatures, from morning 'till  
night,  
From fifteen to fifty, they're all in the right,  
*Derry down, &c.*
- 3 The poets strange tales tell of Orpheus you know,  
How he followed his wife to the regions below;  
But it must be a falsehood, because one so fair,  
So loving and kind, was too good to be there,  
*Derry down, &c.*
- 4 No more at these charmers, ye unthinking, rail,  
.But o'er your barbarity let them prevail,  
Perfection to Kings and the fair sex belong,  
For women, like Monarchs, can never do wrong.  
*Derry down, &c.*

### **ACROSTIC ON MISS HILL,**

*Who became the Wife of Richard Milnes, wrote  
by Miss Ann Spencer, a very particular Friend of  
her Youth.*

Honest and open, with each heart to please,  
In every action, elegance and ease;  
Lively and smart, yet with discretion join'd,  
Lavish was nature, when she form'd her mind.

### **CECILIA.**

Peace to the spirits of my honored parents. Respected be their remains, and immortalized their virtues! may time, while it moulders their frail relics to dust, commit to tradition the record of their goodness; and Oh! may their orphan descendant be influenced through life, by the remembrance of their purity, and be solaced in death, that by her it was unsullied! But though thus largely indebted to fortune, to nature she had greater obligations; her form was elegant, her

heart was liberal, her countenance announced the intelligence of her mind, her complexion varied with every emotion of her soul, and her eyes, the heralds of her speech, now beamed with understanding, and now glistened with sensibility.

### *Wrote in a Book on a Lady changing her Name.*

O! Happy day which blotted out  
The name that in this book is wrote,  
The Virgin joys perhaps are great;  
But marriage makes the bliss complete:  
And that the change may happy be,  
Is the ardent wish of A. B. C.  
To the half of a man who wastes his estate,  
Add the third of a word which will end a debate,  
If rightly you place them, they really prove,  
The Surname of her that wrote the above.

### *Origin of a Lady being called a Toast.*

It happened at Bath, in the reign of King Charles II. that on a public day, a celebrated beauty of those times was in the Cross-Bath, and one of the crowd of her admirers took a glass of the water in which the fair one stood, and drank her health to the company. There was in the place a gay fellow, half fuddled, who offered to jump in, and swore, though he liked not the liquor he would have the toast. He was opposed in this resolution; yet this whim gave foundation to the present honor which is done to the lady we mention when we drink, who has ever since been called a TOAST.

### *Breach of Promise of Marriage.*

**LANCASTER ASSIZES—MONDAY, SEPT. 4.**

*Nisi Prius Court—Mr. Justice Park.*

**Beattie versus Pearson.**—This was an action brought to recover compensation in damages for a breach of promise of marriage. The parties being persons of the highest respectability, an unusual degree of interest was excited by this case;—the Court was filled to overflowing; and there was arrayed in the seats opposite the Jury, an assemblage of female beauty, congregated to witness the exemplary punishment which Lancashire Juries never fail to inflict on faithless swains. Mr. Littledale opened the pleadings, and Mr. Scarlett stated the case on the part of the Plaintiff. The Plaintiff in this cause, Mrs. Beattie, is the widow of a medical gentleman, who at the time of their marriage resided in Liverpool, but who afterwards went upon the Continent as a surgeon in the army. She had been married at the early age of eighteen, and her husband died in the month of May, 1818, at Colbeck, in Scotland, where he had been settled some months, and was interred on the very day in which Mrs. Beattie, was to have joined him, she having been residing some

months with her mother at Mottram, in Cheshire—One child only was the issue of this marriage. It was admitted on all hands, that the connections of this Lady were of the highest respectability, and Mr. Scarlett described the Plaintiff as a Lady of great personal attractions, possessing every female accomplishment, with a well cultivated mind, an excellent judgment, and an amiable disposition; and he very ingeniously produced as his witness a Lady of uncommon beauty and pleasing manners, who was said very much to resemble the Plaintiff, and which was probably not without its effect upon the damages awarded by the Jury. The defendant, Mr. Samuel Pearson, was stated to be a gentleman of great opulence, at the head of an extensive silk manufactory at Macclesfield—he was a widower, and was 36 years of age; had been twice married, and had a family of three or four children. This was the situation of the parties. In the month of April, 1819, Mr. Geo. Kent Pearson, married a Miss Lees, the niece of the plaintiff, on which occasion, Mrs. Beattie was invited to spend the honey month with the new married couple, and her visit was extended to two months; it was during the latter part of this period that the defendant began to visit Mrs. Beattie: his attention soon became marked, his visits frequent, and it was not long before he made her an offer of his hand, which was not declined. After this he introduced her as his intended wife, and he introduced himself to her relations as her future husband; consulted her upon choice of furniture; and finally fixed the day of his marriage, which was to take place on the Thursday after his return from London, to which place he was going to attend the East India sale of silks. He was accompanied by his cousin, Mr. George Pearson, and in the course of his journey he informed him that he was in a state of doubt, and did not know whether he should be married to Mrs. Beattie or not. His cousin remonstrated with him, and he admitted he was much to blame, and deserved to be handled; and if an action was brought against him he expected he would have to pay £5000. but he said he had not treated Mrs. Beattie so ill, as he had done a young Lady in London, upon which occasion the license and ring were bought, the day fixed, and the party assembled. That instead of going by the mail, he sent a letter stating that he had altered his mind; and the shock had made such an inroad upon her constitution, that he did not expect that she would survive it. The defendant returned from London, but he never visited or wrote to the plaintiff, or assigned any cause for his change of mind. The effect upon Mrs. Beattie was most calamitous, after suffering months of anguish, she became distracted, and was obliged to be placed in a lunatic asylum at Manchester; fortunately the efforts made to restore her reason were effectual, she was returned to her friends with her mental powers restored, but with an enfeebled and shattered constitution. Serjeant Cross made an ingenious speech in reply, in mitigation of damages, but he called no witnesses, and made no satisfactory apology for his client. After Mr. Justice Park had remarked upon the evidence, and made some observations as to the grounds upon which they were to estimate the damages, the Jury, after a short consultation, and without retiring, found a verdict for the Plaintiff—Damages FOUR THOUSAND POUNDS!

*Margaret's Ghost.*

'Twas at the fearful midnight hour, when all were fast asleep,  
In glided Margaret's grimly ghost, and stood at William's feet;  
Her face was pale like April morn, clad in a wintry cloud,  
And clay-cold was her lilly hand, that held her sable shroud;  
So shall the fairest face appear, when youth and years are flown,  
Such is the robe that kings must wear, when death has 'rest their crown.  
Her bloom was like the springing flow'r, that sips the silver dew,  
The rose was budded on her cheek, just op'ning to the view;  
But love had like the canker-worm, consum'd her early prime,  
The rose grew pale and left her cheek, she dy'd before her time;  
Awake she cry'd thy true love calls, come from her midnight grave,  
Now let thy pity hear the maid, thy love refused to save.  
Bethink thee William of thy fault, thy pledge and broken oath,  
And give me back my maiden vow, and give me back my troth;  
How could you say that face was fair? and yet that face forsake,  
How could you win that Virgin heart? yet leave that heart to break;  
Why did you promise love to me? and not that promise keep,  
Why said you that my eyes were bright? yet left those eyes to weep.  
How could you swear my lip was sweet? and made the scarlet pale,  
And why did I young witless maid? believe the flatt'ring tale;  
But hark! the cock hath warn'd me hence, a long and late adieu,  
Come see false man how low she lies, that dy'd for love of you,  
The lark sung out, the morning smil'd, and rais'd her glist'ning head;  
Pale William quak'd in ev'ry limb, and raving left his bed.  
He ey'd him to the fatal place, where Margaret's body lay,  
And stretch'd him o'er the green grass turf, that wrapt her breathless clay;  
And thrice he call'd on Margaret's name, and thrice he wept full sore,  
And laid his cheek on her cold grave, and word spoke never more.

*A Sovereign Remedy for a Bad Husband.*

I know one who was a disorderly, tipping, dissipated man, who made his kind and affectionate wife miserable.

She like an amiable and true Philosopher, tried every means she could devise to reclaim him, but he continued his bad habits, till her patience was reduced to an atom. One night he came home and went to bed before her, and after laying alone some time, rang the bell, and desired her to come to bed; she replied she had made a vow, that if he did not reform, she would never sleep with him again, and to confirm her resolution, did not go to bed to him that night. Next day he was in great sorrow and wept bitterly, and begged most humbly of her to forgive him. And from that time he made her a solemn promise that he would abandon all his bad habits, and become one of the best husbands if he could obtain her pardon. She forgave him without delay, and from that time he fulfilled his vow, and became as good and as orderly a husband as ever woman enjoyed, and from a habit of disorder and idleness, bordering upon poverty, has become a complete sober, orderly man of business, and appears to be making a fortune, and they are become a very happy pair.

I have known two bad husbands completely reformed.

### *The infallible way to happiness in the married State.*

That no gratification or happiness in this life can be compared with the happy married state, and the misery of the unhappy one is universally admitted by all who have experienced them. Then surely no earthly object will be listened to with such zeal and anxiety, or pursued with such avidity and hope. And as I have always heard it admitted, that the greatest errors arise from the smallest causes; I trust it will also be admitted, that discord in the married state is a great error, and generally originates from the smallest causes, or such as may be easily avoided.

Refer to the sacred, agreeable, and beautiful marriage ceremony. Can there be so great a crime as breaking the marriage vow, which is, or ought to be made, on the most solemn and cool deliberation. Can there be so great a sin against Heaven, as violating the same?

Ye parents teach your sons and daughters to become religious, in the study and practice of which, they will find the truest wisdom. Teach them to contemplate and adhere to the marriage ceremony, and its heavenly object, it will secure them true happiness in the married state, and in the world to come. In religion alone they will find the true authority for cheerfulness, mirth, and joy.

Ye sons and daughters obey the above injunction, and take warning from such as neglect those heavenly duties, and remember how the bad habits of many lead them into snares and vice, productive of the severest misery, and the loss of the hope and happiness in the world to come. And consider how much the habits of the fair sex from their infancy, are the reverse of those of many men. These beautiful, lovely, and amiable creatures adhere to such rules of modesty, innocence, and good habits as almost forbid my believing there are any bad wives, but such as are made so by their husbands not guarding against the trifling errors which often increase to great magnitude, and are too often the cause of

discord and contention, for want of both parties dealing gently with each others errors, and leaving each without complaint against the other.

Compare the happiness which may be enjoyed by all, if they will observe these rules, and the excellent marriage ceremony; with the misery which falls to the unhappy lot of those who neglect them—the first is Heaven—the second truly, Hell upon Earth.

Such of you men as cannot adhere to, and be governed by the above mentioned Heavenly rules and marriage ceremony, resolve never to marry, (or you fair ones, deny such your fair hands,) I am sure you will not if you consider what sin you would commit against the lovely fair, against Heaven, and yourselves by marrying.

Ye fair ones and your lovers, let the marriage ceremony and this humble easy warning voice, be your leading topics every time you meet during your courtship, and elsewhere when you may think it proper. Be resolute, and shew your inestimable value to the men described above, and that will increase their esteem for you, and tell them you will prefer a single life, if they will not make you a solemn sacred vow, to adhere to the above mentioned rules, and thus secure happiness, and you will conquer all the bad habits and errors in men, which lead to unhappy marriages, and this world will become a paradise as you all hope and expect it to be, before and after you marry, and many find it so.

I do think it is universally admitted, that the love of women has a greater tendency to civilization, and improve the men, than the love of money; and the more value the ladies put upon, and more care they take of themselves, and the more they would promote this superior excellence and virtue in society. Then mark how much good the females may do, by their own dear self-love and self-interest.

### *The Importance of the Knowledge of House-Keeping and a Kitchen Education.*

Every friend to the fair sex, as we all are, must be anxious to promote their comfort, welfare, and happiness, as every feeling mind will study, and promote the happiness of the whole community, have to lament, that the most vital and essential part of the education of the females is almost totally neglected, except where they have the good luck to have prudent, notable good mothers, who have judgment, independence, and resolution enough, and do teach them the knowledge and management of house-keeping, and practice and economy of a kitchen.

The want of this part of their education, even in affluence, exposeth them to the following difficulties, danger, discomfort, and displeasure, and plants their path of life with briers and thorns, where it ought to be smooth, pleasant and comfortable.

It is often the cause of discord between husband and wife, and leads to evil consequences which cannot be described, where the most refined cordiality, comfort, and happiness ought to exist.

It makes the Mrs. dependent upon the maid, by which she loseth her authority over her, which is perhaps the

cause of ridicule, where all deference, confidence, and respect would otherwise prevail.

It is often the cause of extravagance and waste which leads to ruin and poverty.

It makes the good wife feel uncomfortable and unhappy, when she feels the want of all this useful and necessary knowledge, and makes her say, Oh! what I would have spared out of my fortune, to have given my good mother, or any other person who would have instructed me in this most useful, interesting, and entertaining part of my education.

It must mortify an amiable wife, to see a breakfast, dinner, or supper imperfectly put upon a table, and not know how to teach her maid better, which must bring ridicule and censure upon the Mistress of the house; and if the tradesman's wife should have the folly to keep a house-keeper, it would be incompatible with her rank, and most likely be accompanied with all the above mentioned inconveniences and evil consequences, and deprive herself of the enjoyment of the most vital, essential, pleasant, interesting, and entertaining part of her education; for the occupation of her time, which she will find when she is married, cannot be spent in reading, music, and tea-table talk, to her own satisfaction and pleasure.

As I have said before, none can describe a state of poverty and want of bread, but those who feel it; so none can describe the want of the education of house-keeping, but those who experience it, when their fortune is wasted. And if this advice should be taken by any good lady who has a good fortune left to her, and has the misfortune to lose it, as many do, I rejoice to think how she would praise this book, should it be the cause of this valuable part of her education, or a fortune being given to her thereby, which she can never spend, though some unavoidable casualty, extravagance, or misfortune may have wasted her money, and reduced her to want.

If a person know, and can do, and teach others some good thing, they are always respectable and of consequence, whatever their rank may be.

But should a good fortune forsake an amiable and happy pair, the value of a kitchen education would be magnified in a ten fold degree.

One of the most amiable, sensible, agreeable good ladies that I know, who had the good luck to have a most prudent notable father and mother, who with all their affection, paid the greatest attention to the education of their children, but made house-keeping and the kitchen education, the primary and most important part of it, and after that part was completed sent their daughters to the boarding school, to enable them to associate with good company, and get through the world with credit, pleasure, and satisfaction to themselves and others. This good lady is married, and appears to have completed both the kitchen and boarding school education to the utmost perfection, both in theory and practice, and is one of the most agreeable companions that I know, with a mind completely ornamented with charity, humanity, and philanthropy, and indeed she does merit that polite and elegant appellation, (which I think is too often misapplied for want of the kitchen education) of being completely accomplished.—This good, amiable, and completely accomplished lady, who in her great love to

promote the happiness and welfare of her dear, amiable, lovely sex, often laments with me, that there are no schools opened for the education of house-keeping in this age of improvement. She lives in Yorkshire, and laments the want of it there; but when she visits her friends in our wonderful Metropolis, she is quite sickened to witness the total ignorance of house-keeping and kitchen knowledge, which prevails among the ladies of moderate rank in that great city; the want of which she fears many of them will have much cause to repent.

### *Mr. Arbuthnot's Letter.*

The following is a copy of the letter from Mr. Arbuthnot, to which Lord J. Russell alluded on Friday night in the House of Commons:—

(PRIVATE) "Downing-street, 8th March, 1822.

" My dear Sir,—On Wednesday next, the 13th instant, a motion is to be made by Lord Normanby, to abolish the office of one of the Postmasters-General; and on the 14th, the day following, Mr. Creevey makes a similar motion against the Board of Control. In this manner the just and necessary influence of the Crown is from day to day attacked; and as other motions of a similar nature are to be made by Lord Althorp, &c. it will be quite impossible for any set of men to conduct the Government of this country, unless practices of this kind shall be successfully resisted. It seems as if the Opposition, in despair of coming into office, had determined to break down the means of administering the affairs of the country; and as this subject is become most serious, I have no scruple in apprising you of what is now passing, with the hope and expectation that you will think it necessary to attend, and thus lend your aid in stemming the torrent of such dangerous innovation.

" Yours, most sincerely, "C. ARBUTHNOT."

Will not this strange doctrine of Mr. Arbuthnot's rouse the *people* to join to a man in petitioning the King — for a reformation in Parliament.

What I call the *people*, are every rank, in every link of the chain, from the Cobbler's cottage to the King's throne.

What does Mr. Arbuthnot mean by the stale nonsense of telling us, that opposition want to get into power. It is the *people* that want to resume their legitimate power in the House of Commons. The innovation is made upon the *people's* rights by the Oligarchy. It is not the influence of the Crown which the *people* complain of, but the influence of the K. M. which is become superior to the King and *people*.

### *Joint Postmaster General.*

LORD NORMONY rose to move for the abolition of one of the Postmasters General. He clearly proved that the existence of two joint Postmasters was not only altogether useless to the public, but even injurious, by the constant shifting of authority which it occasioned in

that office. The salaries of the postmasters was £2,500 each, and in the present state of the country, with the present demands of the agriculturists, it was incumbent on the House to grant every possible relief, by cutting off all unnecessary expences. He called upon the House to discharge their duty to the country, and particularly he called upon the Hon. Member for Yorkshire (Mr. S. Wortley) who had pledged himself the other night to vote in favor of every retrenchment which was consistent with the safety of the state, to support the motion.

Mr. F. ROBINSON opposed the motion, on the sole ground of the improper reduction which it would make of the influence of the crown.

Sir J. SEBRIGHT thought the motion quite necessary, and should vote in its favor.

Mr. H. SUMNER thought the influence of the crown too much curtailed, and would oppose its further reduction.

Sir JOSEPH YORKE, though little disposed to yield to popular clamour, did not think that the influence of the crown among the representatives of a loyal and generous people, required to be bolstered up with half a dozen useless places. He was convinced that the office of the second postmaster was entirely useless, and he was surprised that Ministers ventured to keep the office, after the sense of the house had been expressed on the reduction of two lords of the admiralty.

Mr. S. WORTLEY thought, unless gentlemen were prepared to say that the government of this country ought to approach more nearly to a republican form, they must oppose the present motion. He would not join in pulling down the influence of the crown, and if his constituents thought that he ought to do so, they must return another member. If he was sure that it would stop here, he would vote for the present motion; but as motions were made day after day with the same object, he must at once make a stand. He should oppose the motion.

Mr. BANKS complimented Mr. Wortley on his diligence and honesty, but differed from him totally.— How was economy to be practised, if the patronage of the crown was not to be touched? The pledges of economy, which the house had given had not been redeemed: his expectations were exceedingly disappointed. He regretted the conduct of Ministers extremely; not a word had been said in defence of the office, and he sincerely and confidently hoped that by the vote of this night it would be abolished.

Mr. PEEL and LORD LONDONDERRY opposed the motion. Sir JAMES MACKINTOSH and Sir JOHN NEWPORT supported it. The House divided, when there appeared

For the motion, .. .. .. .. ..	159
Against it, .. .. .. .. ..	184
Majority in favor of Ministers, .. .. .. .. ..	—25.

Would not many a clever good Man be glad to execute this Office for five hundred pounds per year, better than two of them, and save the Nation £4500 per year; do not Mr. Freeling and his Clerks do all the business, and the two Post Masters General perhaps never write their names but to receipts for their salaries. Is not this a proof of the

unnecessary waste of the public Money, and the greater evil of its influence in bribing and corrupting the people, directly and indirectly, or in all directions, and a loud call for their being truly represented in the House of Commons and elsewhere.

It must puzzle every one how to discover what Mr. Wortley and other gentlemen can mean by the above-mentioned expressions of fear, that the Crown should lose its influence, while every individual in the land admires the constitution of England in its original purity, and consequently the Crown as the most essential and vital part of that Constitution. They are therefore ready at all times to lay down their lives for the preservation of the King: but the people have discovered to their sorrow, that the influence of the —— have set up a power in this nation, unknown to the Constitution, for their own indulgence, aggrandizement, and fancied security of themselves, their friends, and adherents, which is grown enormous and superior to the King and people, and alarming to the whole nation; for this overbearing power has rendered the Constitution, which we all love, a nonentity, by having deprived it of its vital part, its original power in the House of Commons, which used to be the watchman and guardian of the national purse and all the people's rights. But this power has assumed a control over the national purse, and all the people's rights, by bribery, corruption, influence, and nobody can tell what besides; and when this constitution is extolled, in enlightened companies at home or abroad, it is treated with ridicule, because they say it does not exist. It is this monster which moves every member of the House of Lords and Commons, who are not under its baneful influence, to point out to the King and people, the danger which that Constitution is in, which we all love and wish to preserve, and has always been the envy and admiration of the world. And they all wish to enjoy this inestimable treasure, which we are thoughtlessly suffering to expire. That there is such an overbearing power, is as notorious as the sun at noon day, and too well known and felt by us all.

My dear ladies and gentlemen of this dear inestimable country, I am no alarmist, I am under no influence, but that of a true patriot, and a sincere friend to my King, and the welfare of my country, which I have been all my long life, and I feel my zeal increase in proportion as the necessity of it increaseth, which I pray sincerely may be the case with all others. But I am alarmed with most of the nation, at the danger our dear constitution of England is exposed to by this overbearing monster.

Should you question the truth of these my humble but honest assertions, which I have been a true attentive anxious witness to the truth of this growing evil at all times and seasons, above half a century past. I presume one of the Royal Dukes, most of the first nobles of the land, many of the House of Commons, and a great majority of the people are ready to confirm the same.

And if every man would throw aside all influence, interest, prejudice, fear, and alarm, and become a true patriot and friend to his country and himself, and declare the honest opinion of his heart, they will, to a man, be of my opinion, that the constitution of England is in danger of expiring, if a speedy remedy be not applied. Have not many men of all ranks discovered their error, and

seceded from this dangerous, unnatural, pernicious combination; and many others feel sickened at the vicious practice, who have not yet openly declared their disgust. Can there then remain a shadow of fear, but the King and people will soon join hand and heart, to restore the darling patient, the constitution of England, to its native and pristine health. If I can only dispel that fear, that groundless fear which has been raised in the minds of many good men, for the purpose of blinding and bewildering them, and feeding the combination, I shall have gained the point, I have been trying to gain at all times above half a century past; then I shall be ready to die in comfort whenever it may please the Almighty to call me hence.

I now beg leave to speak to every one privately, who are concerned in destroying the health of that favorite of all the world, the constitution of England, and say unto them upon their pillows, in their silent hours of retirement, are not you offending the whole nation, and are not you offending the Almighty, yourselves, and all the world thereby, and putting to the hazard your everlasting happiness, for a momentary, imaginary, indulgence, in this precarious transitory life, by the expectation only of some profit, place, pension, or preferment for yourselves or others. Will not all these good things be to give and enjoy with more comfort, when the King and people have united and destroyed the above mentioned monster. Methinks I hear you to a man start from your pillows, and with one voice confess, that last night our consciences rose up in judgment against us, and forced us to see our error, repent, and become sorry for what we have done.

Many good men have joined in this wicked measure, without any other cause than alarm and fear that there was danger in doing otherwise, and done contrary to their own native and sincere opinion. But if they will consider well what has been said in many parts of this honest publication, they may soon discover they have been afraid where no fear was, and that they have been frightened into their misconduct by false alarms.

All that I wish for is to gain the attention and candid consideration of every one, for the sake of themselves and the whole community, then I am sure we shall soon become the happiest, most powerful, secure, and respected people in the universal world.

Is it not of the utmost importance to the freedom, liberties, and happiness of the world, as well as this most valuable country, that the constitution of England should live and spread its fostering hand universally, before it loses its power to do so.

It is said the bill of rights, which is a great and vital part of the constitution of England, expressly forbids the Peers of the realm interfering in the election of members of the House of Commons, directly or indirectly, under severe penalties. Here mark the consummate wisdom of our forefathers, in guarding the incomparable constitution which they had made; and I do hope this humble Warning Voice of mine and many others, will induce the present age to do the same. This leads me to wish most heartily, that I was a nobleman of great fortune, and a great owner of rotten boroughs; I would with pleasure, and without delay, move for a reformation in Parliament, and support that motion by an offer to give up all my rotten boroughs, with a view to promote

and support such reform for the good of my country and the world, hoping that such a laudable example would be followed by all others, to annihilate all the bad, and promote all the good mentioned above. And to guard against the above mentioned penalties being inflicted upon all noblemen concerned in this illegal, pernicious, and dangerous practice, which is too common, and a dishonor and disgrace to their dignity, honor, and respectability, and destructive of the most vital parts of our constitution.

I lament, I grieve, I mourn beyond my power to express, that the amiable, the patriotic, the good, the brave, the great, the excellent Mr. Stuart Wortley, who is an honor and ornament to human nature and his country, should be against a reformation in Parliament. With this exception, I never heard or witnessed the least defect in his character or conduct; he appears to possess all the excellent and superior qualities which a nation could wish to see, in one of its most amiable, exalted, and excellent Senators; and with this defect, he does in that capacity discharge his duty with zeal, ability, honor, integrity, and sound judgment on all occasions.

But I do entertain a most sanguine hope, that the present shaking of the nations, the conduct of the holy alliance, and our being implicated therewith; the president's message to the United States of America in December, 1823; the Marquis of Lansdown, Lord Liverpool, and Lord Holland's speeches, upon the address of the 2d of February, 1824, all which will be found in page 36, with many other reasons, will convince him of his error, and that the friends to a reformation in Parliament and their country, will soon have his high respectability, example, power, and influence in that just and very necessary cause.

Then the whole nation will soon become united in one common effort, to promote the comfort, happiness, and safety of every individual in the land, and set a bright example to the world, as our forefathers did in the days of old, and let all nations discover, that the original principle and object of all governments, were the welfare and happiness of every individual; without which, thinking people cannot be happy and comfortable in their minds.

*Abstract from the Rev. — Irwin's sermon, who is minister of the Caledonian Chapel, Hatton-Garden, London, which is attended by ministers of state and fashionable ladies; and all other ranks of the people flock in crowds to hear him; the chapel will only contain one thousand, and three thousand often attend, so that two thousand are through necessity excluded; and they say his popularity has not abated, because 2 or 300 gentlemen's carriages attend his chapel on a Sunday.*

In speaking of the union which ought to exist between the lovers of religion and friends of liberty, he says, "The enemy taketh much profit from our disunion to injure us both. You are not the noble men your forefathers were when the foundation of English freedom was laid. Then you were men-of-might, because you feared the living God, and did your endeavour to

serve him; now you are men sound in spirit, and often stained in reputation; in your zeal for liberty trampling upon the virtues and decencies of life. And we, we christians have suffered no less from the dismembermen: We have lost the manly regard of our fathers for liberty and good government, and crouched into slavish sentiments of passive obedience, as if we were stooping the neck of our understanding, in order that they might, by and by, wreath the chain of our bodies, or make us the instrument of wreathing it on others. How we are fallen from the days of the glorious reformation. There is no magnanimous assertion of principles; there is a base desertion of those who assert them: all the glory of the church is gone; and I wonder not that the free minded laymen hate and spurn the slavishness of our sentiments. Every religious man must wish well to the present shaking of the nations, as likely to open passages for the light of truth, which heretofore the craft of priests and the power of absolute tyrants, have diligently excluded. I pray to Heaven constantly, night and morning, that he would raise up in this day, men of the ancient mould, who could join in their ancient wedlock these two helps meet to each other, which are in this age divorced, religion and liberty; as it goes at present, the man who cherishes these two affections within his breast, hardly knoweth whither to betake himself; not to the pious, for they have forsworn all interest or regard in civil affairs; not to the schools of Politicians, who, with almost one consent, have cast off the manly virtues and christian graces of the old English reformers. But by the spirits of our fathers! I ask again, are their children never to see the re-union of religious and free born men? Have our hearts waxed narrow that they cannot contain both of these noble affections.

I say no, they have not? There is as much true religion, love of liberty, true loyalty, virtue, and wisdom, now as in any age. But they are over-clouded, contaminated, infatuated, and in danger of expiring, by the neglect of duty in the Clergy and superiors, and the overbearing power of bribery, corruption, tyranny, and oppression.

But I hope this Heavenly Divine is come as one sent from above, to open the light of truth and duty to the Clergy and superiors, and that we shall soon see the two helps meet to each other, *Religion and Liberty*, as cordially, lovingly, and firmly united as in any age. And that we shall have a speedy return of the days of the glorious reformation, and a complete annihilation for ever of bribery, corruption, luxury, tyranny, oppression, and poverty, which are the disgust and hatred of all mankind, and terror of all the civilized world.

Woe unto us people of this great nation, what have we been doing a century past to subject ourselves to such severe but just censure as above, and particularly from a reverend divine in the pulpit, who has gained the ear and attention of ministers of state, fashionable ladies and gentlemen, and all other ranks of England; and also many foreigners, which I do hope is a most propitious and happy omen. Why have you Clergy of Great-Britain suffered your better judgment to be in thralldom and bondage, to that baneful influence of bribery, corruption, and you might not know what,

above one hundred long years, which are an infallible source of vice, immorality, irreligion, insubordination, disloyalty, and rebellion, all which vices you are in duty bound to prevent or annihilate. Awake from your lethargy, or what other vile or odious name shall I give your willing slumbers, and discharge that duty which you have so long neglected, (though some of you to your honor have in a great degree fulfilled) and be thankful to the Almighty and this good preacher, for the admonitions he has so powerfully and judiciously impressed upon this great and mighty empire. Do not you rejoice to see the all-wise providence smiling in every direction, and bestowing all the necessities of life and other comforts upon us at all times, with a most bountiful hand, without respect to persons, sects, rank, or parties, as an example of charity and philanthropy to us all; though we poor frail mortals of this once happy nation, continue in a more depraved state of wickedness, oppression, bribery, and corruption, from the lowest to the high ranks than ever was known; and that it is the bad example, and want of duty in the Clergy and superiors, which is the baneful cause.

I beseech you Clergy, be no longer afraid of telling superiors, inferiors, and all ranks and degrees, boldly and without fear from the pulpits, like this good and blessed divine, that if they do not immediately reform, and annihilate bribery and corruption, and set better examples, and lead more virtuous lives, some heavy judgment from Heaven will soon come upon us, (as has been the case with other nations) for doing which, you would soon have the grateful thanks and joy of the whole nation, and till your Churches, and empty the Meeting Houses, and procure yourselves the thanks and prayers of all your anxious ardent hearers. And consider him a Warning Voice sent from Heaven, to guard this once happy land, from that ruin which has been gradually coming upon it the great length of time above mentioned. And consider him as an Angel sent from the Almighty, to encourage you to discharge the above too long neglected duty, and again unite them two helps meet to each other, religion and liberty, which have been too long divorced by your neglect of duty, and other dire causes. And I humbly warn you, that nothing but your zealous efforts, and those of superiors, with the aid of Heaven, can save us from ruin here and misery hereafter; and teach every one to feel it his duty to slacken the cords of oppression, whatever his rank may be, and to set a good example to all. Then we will sing, rejoice, be glad and thankful, that the Almighty hath so long mercifully given us time to repent of our crying and heinous sins.

And you, Clergy, become good, faithful, pious, and gentle shepherds; learn to lead, comfort, and manage your flocks, which you all know are much gone astray; or else your new Churches will remain empty, though they are to cost a million and a half of money at present, and will entail unknown expence upon posterity, and too many of the present age were impoverished before they were called upon for this million and a half, and none can tell what expence is to follow, even with all the care you can take, that is sure to come. I know you will pardon the liberty I am taking, because it is a religious heavenly subject, and concerns the everlasting

welfare of this dear once happy country, which I am labouring to help to restore to its pristine state. And I hope from what I have said from the sincerity of my heart, I shall have thousands and tens of thousands, and millions of advocates, if not the whole nation. This great expence would not have happened to a nation, over head and ears in debt, and the mass of it in poverty, had it been well considered, but it will have one certain effect, it will increase the influence of the——. But a reformed Parliament would never have granted it, because I think such an enormous expence in building Churches was not necessary at any time, much less at the present. The public and private gentlemen have proved they were not necessary, by building plenty of Churches and Chapels, and the poor by making the houses and barns places of worship. What will follow such conduct as this, the Almighty only can tell

But if you can only succeed in teaching superiors, and all the good, loyal, and faithful people of this mighty empire to study and practice the golden rule, which saith "Wherefore all things whatsoever you would that men should do unto you, do you even so to them, this is the law and the prophets." And to do justice, love mercy, and walk humbly with your God. You will restore those two helps meet to each other, religion and liberty, and snatch your country from the brink of ruin. Many have given up the just and necessary cause of reform, and say that a revolution is inevitable, because the six dire enemies bribery, corruption, luxury, tyranny, oppression, and poverty, which have been the cause of all revolutions, are become so powerful, they will certainly force it. But I say no, I shall be joined by the King, and every individual in the land, except a few, who may perhaps remain, of those who have something to hope or to fear, to get or to save, from the pleasure or displeasure of the——.

Then I am sure we shall prevent such a horror, and teach posterity how to do the same, then we shall make the six above mentioned dire enemies to all nations fly like chaff before the wind, and become the happiest people in the world. None but these enemies ever provoked a nation to rebel or find fault with its government. If the heavenly cause of religion, and the good of our country had been the object of this million and half of money, our first step would have been to improve the conduct of the church ministers, and to have supplied the churches with ministers of true piety, who would have comforted and led their flocks as the dissenters do. It is the want of this which is the cause of most or all the dissenters; had this laudable act been done, and filled your present churches and chapels, many of which would hold double, and many three, some four times the number which attend them, and emptied the meeting houses, then there might have appeared some cause to aid their zealous efforts, in the cause of religion, by a little money, when it had been petitioned for; but wantonly and thoughtlessly to lavish a million and half, before trying this effect, must be a grievous consideration to a nation, oppressed, impoverished, and in danger of sinking under an unbearable load of debt, rents and taxes. But like the increase of the army, it will add to the enormous, baneful, and overwhelming influence, which is the nations bane and danger, by

having to give appointments to officers in the army, and Clergy in the church; is not that baneful influence feeding and nursing bribery, corruption, luxury, tyranny, oppression, and poverty in all directions, and on all occasions. This appears to be its unceasing study and practice.

Had the cause of religion and welfare of society been the object, they would have bestowed some of the opulent livings upon the best of dissenting, distinguished, and most eminent preachers, and have emulated and preferred church ministers according to their merit; then they would soon have found that most of the dissenters, like me, are true church men in church and state, and they would have followed their good shepherds to hear them in the churches, with more pleasure than in their expensive meeting houses.

It is not for want of respect for the established religion in church and state, that they dissent; but for want of zeal, emulation and piety in the church ministers, and their love of true religion and toleration, which are the greatest blessings this country enjoys, and I hope will lead to the completion of all others which are wanting.

And they would prefer hearing them in the churches, because they neither would have the trouble, expence, nor care which they have with their meeting houses, and also have to pay their quota, in support of the church.

I have conversed with many of them, and gone to their meetings to gain information, and they uniformly declare they love the mother church, and the establishment of it, both in church and state; and that they would much rather hear their pious, zealous, gospel preachers in the church, than in their meeting houses, for the reasons above mentioned.

Can there be stronger proofs given, than in lavishing this million and half of money without complaint from the people, or the majority of those who should be their true and faithful representatives in Parliament on all occasions, that we are a blind, misguided, misgoverned, yet brave, great, loyal and virtuous people; but many of us contaminated by the luxury, depravity, folly and bad example of superiors, and the want of better ministers in our churches.

Is not this million and half, thus wantonly lavished, a mystery above our comprehension? I confess it is a mystery to me. Surely petitions will be poured in from every individual in the land, praying that the half million voted this session of parliament, may be suspended till we see the churches supplied with pious good preachers, who will endeavour to unite those two helps meet to each other, true religion and liberty, who have been so long divorced. Then we shall become the most happy, the most safe, and most powerful nation in the world.

And here I cannot avoid asking what will a continuance of this blind infatuated line of conduct bring upon us, or our posterity? Who can tell what is in the womb of time? Does not history unfold to us wonders and miracles, greater than the fear that these new churches may become a pretext for annihilating all religious toleration; and establishing the Roman Catholic religion in this or some future age, and forcing our posterity to do mass in these new churches.

A gentleman at the Hampshire meeting in April, 1824,

to petition for a repeal of the assessed taxes, said he was anxious as any man, that the poor should have places of worship fully provided for them, but he would make the clergy supply them out of their five millions a year, let the church support itself, or it would fall.

Is it not wonderful that the zealous efforts of the Methodists, the most numerous class of dissenters, who have now exercised their unceasing zeal in the heavenly and happy cause of religion, about ninety-five years, should not have been able to convince the Clergy and the whole nation, of the necessity of what I have pointed out and advised above. But I do hope this million and half of money will do more towards promoting those desirable objects, than all they have done in the above mentioned ninety-five years.

#### *Abstract of a Dissenter's Address.*

"Allow me, however, to say, that it is not on slight grounds; it is not in a captious spirit; it is not for the sake of opposition, that we forego the protecting wing, the warm patronage, and the rich benefits of the religious establishments of the country. The inducements and emoluments lie much more on the side of conformity, than dissent. We have not the aid of Parliamentary grants, for the erection of new chapels; nor can we have recourse to parochial assessments, to repair them when dilapidated; but must contribute our quota towards the Parliamentary and parochial funds, by which churches and chapels, in which we have no interest, and to which we do not resort, are reared or repaired. While upon ourselves must devolve the great burden of erecting our new places of worship, and of supporting our own ministers. I mention these things not at all in the way of complaint or recrimination, but in defence of our consistency, and to show that our nonconformity is much more costly and expensive to us than conformity would be, could we only bring ourselves to comply with its requisitions, nor is our dissent, either, the effect or symptom of disloyalty. To the principles of the British constitution, no class in the whole community are more conscientiously and ardently devoted than the protestant dissenters, as a body; and to the hero of the revolution in 1688, and to the Princes of the House of Brunswick, successively, they have cherished, and on some memorable occasions, have evinced a most decided and zealous attachment; an attachment which the sovereign has repeatedly and unequivocally acknowledged. In separating from the church, therefore we manifest no disaffection to the state. In asserting liberty as christians, we throw off no part of our allegiance as Britons; and in withdrawing from the service and benefits of that altar which belong to a particular sect, we gather round and venerate the Throne which belongs, and belongs equally to all. We believe every one has, and ought to exercise the right of private judgment, and to worship God in the way which his conscience approves. For ourselves we claim that liberty, and we would not interfere with its exercise by others. To think and act for ourselves in the momentous concerns of religion, we never can regard as a privilege, and permission, allowed and granted to weak and tender consciences, through the

liberality of a clement Prince, or the policy of sagacious statesmen, but as a right which is born with us and natural to us, which belongs as properly and absolutely to that tender conscience, be it the conscience of a peasant or a pauper, as of a wily statesman, or the Prince himself. It is indeed the gift of him who gave us our being, and with equal justice might any human power capriciously destroy our lives as deny us this liberty."

Since writing the above, I have read the following debates in the House of Commons, on this most important subject.

*Friday, April 6. 1824.*

#### NEW CHURCHES.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer expressed great astonishment at the opposition made to the grant for building additional churches. To give religious instruction and comfort to a great body of the people, was surely a proper object; and as to the objection, that Dissenters were compelled to contribute to the Church Establishment, that objection would lead too far, for Dissenters of course paid tithes, church-rates, &c. with the rest of the community. There was a necessity for the grant, for the present churches would not hold those who belonged to the Established Church. With the former grant 98 Churches, accommodating 150,000 persons, had been erected; still there was a great want of accommodation, which this sum of £500,000 would assist to supply. The Chancellor of the Exchequer concluded by moving that Exchequer Bills to that amount be issued, &c.

Mr. Hobhouse contended, that the Church had funds of its own, which ought to be applied to the purpose. With regard to the present alleged want of accommodation, he was convinced, by inquiry, that such want was not generally felt. The official papers said, that three millions of people wanted accommodation, and yet this grant would only give it to 75,000 persons; so that twenty millions sterling would be required to give the accommodation in the way desired. But why not institute double or treble service in the present churches? Chaples would be erected in abundance, if those who built them were allowed to choose the Ministers; and this might be done, by giving the Bishop a veto on the appointment. Mr. Hobhouse concluded by moving a Resolution to the effect, that it was inexpedient to grant the sum proposed.

Mr. Peel observed, that in many instances the church services had been augmented. Though the sum called for would not do all that was wanted, it would act as seed and be productive of a good harvest. He insisted that the accomodation was much wanted and called for, particularly for the poor.

Dr. Lushington thought the grant was necessary, more particularly for the accommodation of the poorer classes.

Mr. Hume took quite a different view of the question. By a return laid on the table in 1812, it appeared, that out of 1,881 parishes, there were 2,533 churches and chapels, belonging to the Establishment, and 3,438, belonging to Dissenters, making, for the Dissenters, one-third more than the Establishment.—(Hear, hear.) Here

then, on the one hand, you had zeal and independence, opposed to indolence on the other; and if they wished to give the Church of England fair play, they must match them with men of the same zeal, talent, and assiduity. But, instead of this, how was it proposed to proceed? Why, by building stone walls, as if they could impart zeal or talent to inculcate the doctrines of the Church. (Hear.) He had seen churches enough—he had seen them tolerably well built, well furnished, and, no doubt, well endowed, but very ill filled (a laugh)—and why? because they were superintended by men who had been selected, not on account of their qualifications to teach, but with a view to maintain patronage, and to please the friends of the patron. (Hear.) In Scotland, the parishioners and land owners were bound to erect the Church, and to maintain it and the Clergy; and before the House consented to vote £500,000 for building Churches in England, in addition to the million already voted, he would ask, were there no funds allotted for the express purpose. He could wish to hear for what objects were tithes originally destined. He should quote the highest authority, he meant Mr. Seldon, who said, that tithes were originally dedicated to four purposes:—To maintain the Church, to maintain the clergy, to provide relief for the poor, and to maintain the Bishop. He could not agree to the proposition that the people at present are rich; he knew that there were at this moment thousands of artisans who were working fourteen hours a day for 6 or 7s. a week. Would the House call that rich? (Hear, hear.) He would just ask the House to look at the enormous revenue of the Bishopric of Durham. (Hear, hear.) Did the Gentlemen opposite mean to say, that these revenues were appropriated to the purposes of religion? There was already too much paid for the duties which were to be performed. And if they reduced the Church Establishment, ample funds would be found for the erecting of Churches, without calling on Parliament. At the conclusion of his speech, Mr. Hume was loudly cheered.

After some further discussion, the original grant was carried by 148 to 59.

Need I say, can there be stronger proofs of the necessity of a reformation of Parliament, than in the above mentioned, and many other parts of this publication.

*Copy of a Letter from Mr. Richard Milnes, of Mirfield, near Leeds, Yorkshire, to J. Scarlet, Esq. M. P. on his introducing a Bill into Parliament to mend the Poor Laws, which Mr. Milnes has got printed to send to Members to prevent the Bill passing if possible, with some Additions, the Letter having been written and sent in a hurry.*

SIR,

Mirfield, May 16, 1821.

I am sorry that a gentleman of your Philanthropy and Patriotism, should incline to invade the rights of the Poor, who are not able to defend their own rights, which they have enjoyed unmolested ever since the days of good Queen Bess.—And feeling the same opinion I have always entertained, that if ever the Legislature meddle with

the Poor Laws, except as to settlements, they will mar them.—And as the Newspaper says, you would not allow the man to be relieved that has no work, which you know is the poor man's property, and if he cannot sell it, I beg leave to ask you, what he is to do; is he to go a begging, or is he to go out and steal, or break houses, or rob upon the highway, or die of hunger for want of bread.—And as I believe there are thousands of Colliers, thousands of Lime-burners, thousands of Watermen, thousands of Husbandmen, and many others out of work at this present time, for want of ability in their usual employers to pay them wages.—And as I have the pleasure of thinking in the further progress of your Bill, that you, and Parliament will discover, or be informed, that it will be more laudable in you all, to study a remedy, by reducing rents, taxes, sinecure places and pensions, and the expenditure of public money, and defend the rights of the Poor, which has been the life and soul of the prosperity of this once happy land, and their protection will continue to be the same.—I have lived many years, and have the comfort of enjoying perfect health, and faculties, and in the middle rank of society—Yet I have only lately discovered what I sometimes tell my equals and superiors, that if they will learn true wisdom they may learn it from their inferiors.—About a month since, a Colliery stopped where they employed fourteen Colliers, what we call pick men, who were all thrown out of work, with many others.—I lately met one of the Colliers, who told me he had no work, was a widower with seven children, the oldest incapable of doing any work, that he had been seeking work all round the country, but could find none, and that he had not a bit of bread in the house, he did not beg, but I gave him sixpence.—He then said he was forced to go to the Poor House to see what they would do for him; I said I am going to the Rose and Crown, in Huddersfield, and if they do not please you, come to me, and I will help you; he came and shewed me a pound note, said they had given him that, but he was not to go again of a month.—I dare say you will admit that five shillings per week is too little for a man and seven children.—But he said the master of the Poor House had refused him, and said they might all go to the Poor House.—But when I told him you would help me, he gave me the note directly.—Now if this family had gone there, they would have cost three or four times as much as they would cost at home, and by being relieved at home, the man's humble independence and strength of mind and body, are preserved, and he will be ready to enjoy his work when the Colliery goes on again, and live like a man independent of the town.—But if they had forced him to the Poor House, he would have lost his humble home, and his strength of body and mind would have been impaired.

These reasons I beg leave to offer as my apology for laying the two letters which accompany this before you, and I shall be gratified if I have the honor of hearing they all meet your approbation.—The Poor Law was made for the benefit of the Poor, not the Rich—I dislike the Select Vestry for the management of the Poor.—The Magistrates, Overseers, and Lay-payers are more competent, if the last will only do their Duty, and attend an Open Committee on the Days the Poor are paid, which I think they will do better than an arbitrary Select Vestry.

The Poor Laws as they are, are the brightest jewel in the constitution of England, and I think perfect, except as to settlements. But much fault in the execution.—And if a nation have the wisest Legislature in the world, and they make the wisest laws, if the people will not execute them, it is not the fault of the Legislature, or the laws; then why blame the law for the fault of the execution?—And it is one of the most common and greatest errors in human affairs, that the whole of the Poor are blamed for the fault of the few idle, profligate, and abandoned, without considering the thousands of thousands, who are behaving well and bear the heat and burden of the day with patience.—And little do we know who are to become poor, and be forced to apply at the Poor House.—Then mark the wisdom of our Forefathers, in making a law which says, their children, or children's children shall not be starved to death.—But would they contemplate that the time would ever come, when the Legislature would think it necessary to apply to the poverty of the poor man's table, to recruit her finances; that being the case at present, and at a time when the land is flowing with milk and honey, thanks to the Almighty.—Then may we not well exclaim, Oh! Old England! Old England! canst thou disgrace thyself so much? for shame, for shame, tell it not in Gath, never let it appear in the History of thy Country.

I have the honor to be, most respectfully,  
SIR,

Your most obedient Servant,  
RICHARD MILNES.

#### *Appendix to R. Milnes' Letter to J. Scarlett, Esq above.*

#### POOR RATES.

It appears by the returns made to Parliament, that the poor rates in England and Wales, from the years 1816 to 1821 inclusive, were as follows:

£. s. d.	£. s. d.
In 1816...5,724,840 0 0	In 1819...7,516,705 0 0
1817...6,910,926 0 0	1820...7,330,256 0 0
1818...7,870,804 0 0	1821...6,959,249 0 0

Admitting that they do cost this, it goes chiefly into the hands of the farmer, and circulates money, which is one of the great sources of wealth. But I do not believe they cost near these sums, because many things are charged to their account which do not belong to it, particularly law suits about settlements, which might be saved, if they would always put those disputes to reference, for they know one of them must take him after they have imprudently spent much money.

The poor man's friends (who are much too scarce, occasioned by the unbearable load of rents and taxes, which the nation has to pay,) may know many aged and infirm people from 70 to 90 years of age, unable to work, who have only 1s. 6d.—2s.—2s 6d.—or 3s. per week allowed; why do not they allow them more, and not let them starve, but make them comfortable, they

cannot have them to keep long. And also many labouring men, who are employed upon the roads for want of better work, have only 5s.—6s.—8s.—or 9s. per week; those who have families, would consume double the quantity of bread and meat, if they could get it.

Many have the folly to say, the poor man can afford to take low wages, because corn is low, but it is not low, it is near three times the price it was fifty years ago. But they forget that he is often without work, or perhaps sick at home; and that his rent is doubled, except where they happen to have a rich and liberal landlord, if not, he is forced to oppress his tenant, because all his outgoings are increased by oppressive rents and taxes. His shoes are doubled, and will not wear half so long as they used to do, because the demand is so great, the Tanner does not make the leather, in general, half so good as usual; and many Colliers and others, have to go two miles to and from their work every day.

The coach and waggon horses carry the best part of the leather upon their backs, perhaps double weight needful to the waggon horse. And the machinery also use the prime part of it for straps, which compels the poor and middle ranks of people to have the worst, at more than double price, and their shoes are generally more suitable for a dancing school, than such slavery as they are forced to bear.

How singular in this ingenious age, that no man of talent, invents a way of harnessing a waggon horse with half the weight, and at half the expence, and relieve him from much toil, heat, and sweat, in carrying this extra leather on a hot summer day, by small links where practicable as a substitute in part for the leather, by which he might perhaps make half the leather do better, which would procure him the thanks of the poor horses if they could talk; the poor and middle ranks of the people, the Farmers, and the public, and leave some of the best leather, to be useful on the poor and middling people and drivers feet, instead of being an useless burden and plague, on the poor horses backs on a hot summers day. Why does the waggon horse require such a very large top to his barcam or collar. The waggon horses carry many tons of leather upon their backs every day, which is oppressive to them, and might be a comfort to the peoples feet.

Many of the poor peoples yeast cost them six times as much as usual, if we consider the time lost and shoes worn in seeking it at 6d. or 8d. per pound, which cost them little or nothing; when the cottager could afford to brew, they gave it to each other. Malt is near three times as much as was sold for fifty years ago, which amounts to a prohibition with many, and forceth them to the ale house to get a little ale, where they perhaps get too much, which causeth discord between the husband and wife, for want of brewing a little at home, which they would certainly do, if the price was in proportion to their wages as it used to be, and prevent their unhappy discord. Coals double, tobacco four times as much as usual, and many require it for their health. Treacle double, sugar double, shambles meat three times as much as it was fifty years ago, and many other things which they want are double.

Mark how these extravagant prices diminish limited incomes, and reduce the value of money, the owners of

which have no means of increasing their incomes, which make many thousands upon thousands feel in poverty, when more moderate prices would make them like the poor and labourer, feel rich in plenty, comfortable, and happy. I have considered this very important point with great attention, and I cannot discover, that high prices add to the comfort, real pleasure, or happiness, of any part of our extensive community, for these are only to be found in moderate competency and rational enjoyment.

I repeat again, that the middling and lower orders are the sons and daughters of somebody, perhaps of those who have been in affluence, and flourished like the green bay tree. Then is it not the duty of the high ranks to join in reducing the high prices, because we do not know who are to be the victims of misfortune, and become poor, and apply to the poor house, or have a very limited income.

But wages are far from being advanced in proportion to the advance in the price of provisions; few, very few, command wages equal to the advance in the price of the necessaries of life; this, I think, is a proof of more poverty than I have described.

"What numbers once in fortunes lap high fed, solicit the cold hand of charity. To shock us more, solicit it in vain. Ye silken sons of pleasure, since in pains you rue more modish visits, visit here, and breathe from your debauch. But so great is your impudence, ye blush at what is right." Are there not many thousands in the Metropolis, and other places, in the above mentioned miserable situation, need I ask how the reader would wish for pity and relief, was he so. And how few there are in the world who are not of the middle and lower orders, and perhaps many of the middle and very poor are in the hardest situation, because they have seen better days, and have the most claim to pity.

I know it will be said by some, they should take better care. I answer it is not only the imprudent that become poor, for poverty cometh by many other causes, and if we were all rich, who would work. The kind hand of charity doth not inquire how the object became poor, but gratifies itself by giving with pleasure and liberality. Consider what poor people do for us, and how we should do without them.

Poverty is the infallible source of immorality, irreligion, discord, theft, vice, insubordination, disloyalty, and rebellion. Surely all men will join me in my humble, honest, zealous efforts, to prevent or annihilate all these great evils. To gratify their charity, humanity, philanthropy, religion, and loyalty, which virtues I hope no one will find himself totally void of, but many, a great many, I am sure, have the pleasure and happiness to enjoy them all.

There never was such a scramble, such a hurry, such a working, such slavery, such an attempt at getting, such a saving, such a cheating, such a competition, such oppressing, such a contest, such discord, such strife, such uneasiness, among a poor working and middling people in the world as in this country at present; and when they have done their best, they say they cannot get an honest living by all they can do, and all their toil and strife. All this originates with the extravagance of government, and takes every rank beneath them, till it

gets to the beggar, the pauper, the poor house, and lessens the consumption of bread, and are not our very extensive corn warehouses full of corn, much of which I fear is spoiling; this is all for want of government, and all superiors slackening the cords of oppression.

Yet if all superiors were inclined to abuse their power, in proportion as they are able, inferiors would be much more oppressed and miserable than they are. Many of the Farmers and middle ranks of society, are forced by heavy rents and taxes, to oppress those beneath them, contrary to their native good will and inclination. It is only superiors that can slacken the oppressive cords. Are not there thousands of thousands in France and Spain at present, who have been in affluence, in fortunes lap high fed, now fallen into poverty and misery, and soliciting the cold hand of charity. Is not this a lesson for the people of this mighty empire; may I ask them if they have any security from the Almighty against such misery, and little do they know who are to be the victims;

May I ask them to inquire, and they will find those six enemies bribery, corruption, &c. which were the downfall of the above mentioned, and all other great empires which have fallen, raging in this country with unabated fury.

I will ask them further, would you help to destroy the above mentioned six dire enemies before it be too late. And I will ask if millions would not fall from affluence and competency, and comfort, to poverty and misery, by the fall of our funds, they are so enormous. And have you any security from Heaven, that such a dire calamity will never happen, if you say it never will (without a reformation in Parliament) you will confirm your infatuation indeed. I beseech you let this humble honest Warning Voice, operate upon the mind of every one before it be too late, and avoid such misery, if you have any regard for yourselves, others, or posterity.

Now I will prove to you, that the poor law makes the people of England and Wales work harder than any in the world, though we do not hear of any poor law, but in England and Wales, which is very singular. This would almost lead us to believe, that all other nations are void of charity, humanity, sound policy, and information; and some stupid Englishmen have the folly to say it promotes vagrancy and idleness.

You know it is very common for a bonny lad and bonny lass to fall in love with each other, and married they will be, and married they are. In about six or eight years they will have five or six fine babes round their table, and the husband has no means of supporting them but by the coal pit, the loom, the plough, or some other labour. He falls sick, and continues so until their money and credit is exhausted. He says to his wife, Oh! my dear we shall all be pined to death; no my dear she says, there is the town, there is our estate which our forefathers left us, which we can never spend. She goes to the overseer of the poor, he relieves them, and preserves the sick man's strength of body and mind, and he returns to his labour with a vigour of both, which he could never have done if there had not been a poor law, without that, he would have sunk into weakness, debility, despair, and misery, which he could never have recovered.

Is not this law an honor, ornament, and comfort to

us, does it not do honor to the wisdom, charity, humanity, and sound policy of our forefathers. And have not the poor as much right to it, and ought it not to be as secure to them, as any man's estate is secure to him.

I say this law is almost perfect, except as to settlements, and the remedy for that is simple and cheap. When a dispute about a settlement happens, enter into arbitration bonds, and put it to reference, and that will settle the matter with little trouble and little expence, and they know very well one of them must take him. I confess there is much fault in the execution of this very excellent law, and many blame the law for the fault in the execution.

A sudden influx of wealth or power too often intoxicates, much worse than strong liquor. Make a man drunk with that and he will sleep sound, and get up sober in the morning; but intoxicate him with wealth or power, and he will go to bed drunk, and get up so perhaps the whole remainder of his life. How few men can bear the intoxication of a sudden influx of wealth and power, which, and ambition, were the ruin of Bonaparte. And when a man is suddenly raised to wealth or power, he is too apt to forget what he has been, what he is, or what he may be again before he die. And I hope this will teach every man to guard against this species of intoxication, for sake of himself, his family, and society.

Self preservation is the first grand law of nature, which the Almighty hath given to all creatures. And it is laudable in man to adhere to that law most strictly, when he is poor, till he attain competency or affluence; and I admit it is laudable, and a virtue to regard self to one of those two points, but to pursue the same strict and rigid line of conduct, regarding himself beyond them is blameable and a vice, which is a virtue before he gain them.

In affluence and competency, I say it becomes every man's duty to attend to those beneath him, and promote their welfare and happiness, with thankfulness, that he is raised above them for that purpose, and become able to do so.

A farmer at the Hampshire meeting in April, 1824, to petition for a repeal of the assessed taxes, said that he is giving the same wages to his labourers, as his grandfather paid fifty years before. Are not such labourers in poverty, and want of bread, in the midst of plenty.

The greatest enemies to religion, are opulence, poverty, idleness, oppression, slavery, discord, superstition, and bigotry. And poverty is by far the greatest and most universal enemy, because it is the offspring of the others, and cries aloud in every town and village for relief. Will not this million and half for new churches, increase and multiply poverty. This enormous sum is to be paid by Government, and Government is supported by the people; and it is a stubborn fact, that all middling and lesser men have already more to pay than they are able, without oppressing those beneath them; and are not the highest and middling orders supported by those under them, and when any new demand is made upon them by Government, they are too many of them forced to oppress their inferiors to become able to pay it. This is the cause and increase of poverty every where, that greatest enemy to religion and all mankind,

Had this million and half been applied to the reduction of the national debt, instead of increasing it, that

would have done much towards reducing poverty, and ten thousand times more in favor of the established religion, than stone walls, without pious, good, faithful, and gentle shepherds, who would lead, comfort, and manage their flocks.

The only plausible reason given by Government in favor of this unnecessary and unbearable expence is, to provide sittings for the poor; but the poorest of the religious dissenters assemble in each other's houses, and barns, to pay divine worship, where they have no chapels, and some even do so where they have, because many of them have no clothes fit to appear in a fine place of worship, or keep themselves warm in winter, or shoes to go in, was it only half a mile or less to church, and perhaps unable to walk so far; how well then that they have found such a convenient, comfortable substitute, for the want of a chapel, to worship the Almighty. And I think every man's religion should be left to his own conscience, and the Almighty.

Had Government devised means to enable the poor to get more food and raiment, and lessened their poverty, and prevented its increase, they would have done ten thousand times more for the cause of religion, comfort of the poor, and satisfaction, safety, and pleasure of the whole community, than all the churches and barracks they can build. And such a charitable act would soon annihilate the other enemies to religion; then religion would bud and blossom as the rose, and infuse comfort, pleasure, harmony and happiness every where among all ranks and degrees; only here contemplate for a moment what unbounded felicity such an easy proceeding would produce.

None can tell what a state of poverty and want of bread is, but the unhappy sufferers, and they, alas! are unable or not allowed to describe their feelings, and tell their pitiable tale; and those who should listen to them, are too apt to lend a deaf ear, and disregard their necessity and humble complaint. Then how laudable, how praise-worthy, what a God like and heavenly act it would have been in Government, to have lessened their poverty, instead of increasing it, and set such a bright example of happiness to the whole world. I do entertain a most sanguine hope, that such happiness will soon come, in place of the oppression, poverty, and misery which prevails at present.

Notwithstanding this rage for building new churches, they appear to be building more new dissenting chapels than at any former time. This I think is a confirmation of all I have said above. They are building a Methodist Chapel at Leeds, intended, it is said, to be the largest in the kingdom.

I dare say it will be argued by some ignorant, thoughtless, hard hearted men, that so much poverty does not exist as I have described, but the following account of the poor rates, with the small pittance allowed the poor, will prove they are in poverty, and what I say after, will, I trust, silence such weak opinions.

The poor rates in England and Wales from the years 1816 to 1821 inclusive, were as follows.

In 1816, £724,840 0 0	In 1819 £7,516,705 0 0
1817...6,910,926 0 0	1820...7,330,256 0 0
1818...7,870,804 0 0	1821...6,959,249 0 0

And there is a class above them, in as much or more

poverty than those who are relieved by the town, one proof is their running about the streets and lanes, over and above their working hours, to pick up every bit of manure which comes from the travellers' horses; and there are thousands of poor sailors and soldiers, who saved their country from ruin, who by law are not allowed to beg, yet wander about the country in poverty, and want of food and raiment, to indulge their love of liberty, and to breathe in and enjoy the fresh air, with the chance of receiving a little here and there from the kind hand of charity, rather than being confined to the limits of the poor house.

A Collier had worked five years at a colliery, both of which I know. This place is troubled with fire damp and black damp to such an extreme, that a Collier, his son, and daughter have lately been smothered and burnt to death. This poor Collier who is sitting by me says, that he and another Collier agreed with the owner to work or get one side of a pit of coal, a short time before the above mentioned misfortune happened, and no fire damp had appeared before they made their bargain; when the fire damp appeared some days after they began, they were so much afraid of being burned, that they durst not go into the pit, but being threatened with the house of correction if they did not go on with their work, they ventured two days after, and when they had been about a week at their work, they were taken with a warrant from their work, and put into the house of correction for one month to the tread mill; this man could not eat the greatest part of the food they offered him; when he came out at the month end, he had lost much of his flesh, and his health was much impaired by the confinement, labour, and want of food, and has been under the doctor's care ever since. From the time of his being committed to this time, his wife, himself, and five children one at the breast, have been in want of bread; they had a letter written to the town which he belongs, to beg relief, they never answered the letter or sent any relief, though they did receive it, because the overseer of the poor called to see him in prison, and promised to come and see his family but never did, his credit was exhausted, and he could not get any bread on trust, which compelled them all seven to starve for want of bread, except they went a begging, which they are forbid doing by law; and his poor wife who had lost one eye by poverty, got now and then one shilling by going out to wash with the babe at her breast. I mention this as a proof that more poverty exists than I have described, and to show by what various ways it happens to men. Because this is a sober, religious, laborious, good man, and if we could search the kingdom through, we should, I believe, find many thousands in such poverty. Is not this a loud call upon superiors, to look after the hard hearted overseers of the poor, to see that they do their more charitable duty to the poor, in obedience to the salutary, charitable, politic, excellent poor law.

Near two years ago, this poor man's contract for working at this colliery proved so much against him, that he was reduced to much privation, and his wife being almost without shoes, for want of which, she got a severe cold, which caused the loss of one of her eyes.

When I was in full practice in collieries, (which I hope to be again when I have finished this work, if I

live, and the Almighty continue my health and faculties, because it will be a play thing to me,) my directions to my bottom stewards were, always, when they let a piece of work to a collier or any other, and it proved a hard bargain to the man, if he behaved well and did his best in working it, to make him amends, because the labouring man cannot afford to lose his labour; but if he made a good profit of his bargain by working, I said with pleasure it is his own, let him enjoy it. I beg leave to recommend this rule to all masters and stewards of collieries and others, as the best policy, and to gratify their charity and good will towards men.

I am sorry to hear of so many men, and particularly colliers, being committed to the house of correction; so many as are committed, it does not appear to have the desired effect, but I fear makes them worse. The Colliers must be very illiterate, because their fathers often take them into the pit at eight years old to wherry for them; they go on, and learn that trade and no other, and neither learn to read or write, except they be near a Sunday School; and generally become old worn down men, unable to do this dark, dangerous, laborious work about the age of fifty. I here beg leave to ask, are not such entitled to have their errors dealt gently with, and to be treated with lenity, compassion, tenderness, and encouragement, rather than the house of correction and tread mill. And are not they more essential to our comforts, manufacturers, and commerce, than any other trade. Is not coal our first local advantage, and of the most vital importance to our manufacturers. And can the coal be dug out of the bowels of the earth by any other men but Colliers, who are trained to it from their infancy.

I wish to see some other remedy. I once had two Colliers committed to the house of correction at the same time, and before they went in they cryed most pitifully, and would have submitted to any conditions, rather as they thought than the disgrace of that house; but I thought it necessary for the sake of example, and I considered them great offenders. When they had been in about two weeks, they became the most hardened, abandoned wretches; these were the first I had committed, and I never had one sent there since, I have always tried what I have found an easier, better, and more complete remedy, by treating them with judgment, moderation, encouragement, and civility, and directed my agents and stewards to do the same, and found the Colliers like others, very orderly good men, when they were well treated, but they are human nature, which is soon corrupted, debased, and perhaps ruined by the evil usage of superiors.

#### *The Situation of the Farming Labourer in 1822.*

The following has been furnished by a Land-owner in Sussex:—Was it not for the aid afforded by his garden producing potatoes, the labourer would be worse off than the poor of Ireland. He is cast adrift by the Farmers in general, and driven to the parish for relief. He applies to the Overseers, who order him to attend at the Vestry, where they have a weekly sale by auction. It is now the custom for the Farmers at that place to purchase

their labouring men, who are sold by auction at so much per head by the week. The best working men are now bought at a shilling a-day; the inferior are sold at four-pence to nine-pence per day. This is the regular practice in many parts of Kent and Sussex, where the labouring men are sold like slaves or cattle in a fair. He receives for his work from two shillings to six shillings a week. If he is a married man with a family, the whole sum he takes is nine shillings a week; the difference between his wages and allowance is made up by the poor rates. Out of this nine shillings a week he pays rent, victuals, drink, fire, and clothing, with all his other expenses of a wife and family. The power given to the Overseers is most unjust in its operation.—Suppose a landlord or farmer, not approving the new system, does not attend the public auction sale, but keeps on his old labourers, paying a fair price of twenty-pence a day, whilst he is subject to pay the parish poor-rates, he is by this means doubly taxed, and has no fair chance to cope with his neighbours, who hire men on the slave system. Their work being done on cheap terms, at the expence of the parish, and particularly to the injury of the shopkeepers, mechanics, and others who do not employ labourers."



*From the Leeds Patriot, 7th August, 1824.*

#### LABOURERS' WAGES.

"When Arthur Young published his elaborate tours through the East, North and South of England, in the years 1771 and 1772, the wages of labour were actually higher in most of the counties than they are at this moment, though provisions and the other necessaries of the labourer were not half their present prices. At that time the wages were determined by the distance from London, the following are the rates of the different distances.

	Per week.
	£. s. d.
To 50 miles from London, medium wages	{ 0 8 7
throughout the year .....	..... { 0 8 7
From 50 to 100 miles .....	0 7 10
From 100 to 200 .....	0 7 2
From 200 to 300 .....	0 7 0
Upwards of 300 .....	0 5 8

The board of a workman a day was then in the North 5*d.* in the South 6*d.* A dinner in the North 3*d.* and in the South 4*d.*

In the North of England where wages were then lowest, they are now highest. According to the report of the committee on labourers wages, they are

In Northumberland 12*s.*—in Cumberland 12 to 15*s.*—in Yorkshire 12*s.*—in the division of Oldham, Lancashire from 12 to 18*s.*—in Lincolnshire 12*s.*

On the other hand, in Suffolk, Sussex, Bedfordshire, Kent, &c. wages are as low as 5*s.* and 3*s.*" In those five or more counties, I suppose these low wages are increased by the poor rates. What a state of poverty is this, and how degrading. A lamentable consideration, that some of the poor of this Island, are approaching to the miserable state of the poor in Ireland, which has long called aloud for a remedy. If the necessities of the labourer were to determine the rate of wages, they ought to be higher in the South than in the North, because

one material item in the expenditure of a labourer is much dearer in the former than in the latter, that is coal.

*House of Commons, Feb. 11, 1822.*

#### DISTRESS OF THE COUNTRY.

Mr. BROUGHAM rose to bring forward his promised motion on the distress of the country. He was aware that some persons would be ready to charge him with precipitancy, for bringing forward his motion now, seeing that the ministerial project of finance was to be broached on Friday next: he would gladly have waited the developement of their plan, had it not been for the declarations of the Chancellor of the Exchequer on the first day of the session, from which he was led to expect rather a budget of new taxes than a reduction of the old ones. The whole House had heard the Chancellor declare, that to diminish the burdens of the people, instead of operating a relief, would but aggravate the evil. He had a shrewd suspicion that this doctrine, though in words it might be a little qualified, would be found hereafter to pervade the whole of the budget; and he could not help looking forward to the decided interference of the house, as the only chance, the only hope of the country, to prevent that doctrine from being carried into full effect, and shining forth in all its glory in the measures of administration. (Much cheering.) It would be unnecessary to waste time in commenting on the vast amount of the distresses of the country: it would be absolutely superfluous to describe the pressure upon the various districts, to prove the wide extent of public suffering and calamity, or to show how heavily, though not by any means exclusively, it pressed upon agriculture. Some persons were of opinion, that the distresses were of a local, not of a general nature, and others thought they were confined to a particular class—the farming interest. He had taken considerable pains to inform himself truly of the state of the country, and he thought he might affirm with confidence, that, except in the manufacturing districts of the North of England, distress was universally prevalent, was severe, nay, was terrible. If any one large branch of the community suffered from the pressure of the times, it was a necessary consequence, arising from the intermixture of all parts of society, that other classes must also be injured: but what must be the effect, when the body who most complained of distress—when that class of community who suffered so generally, and for so protracted a period, comprised the whole of these persons who were engaged in the cultivation of the soil? The home market for all kinds of manufactures must necessarily be diminished; and if any branch maintained a seeming prosperity, it must be by the uncertain stimulus of foreign trade or speculation. Under such a state of things it was essential to ask, what had Government been doing to produce this result? He would not enter into a minute detail of their financial and commercial policy for the last 25 years, though he held it to be perfectly true that no man, with a just view of the finances of the empire, and a proper regard for its prosperity and wealth, could think of persisting with impunity in the course that Government had pursued

for many years. He would take only three years, 1813, 1814, and 1815, in which their system had been carried to its greatest extent, to elucidate his argument. In those three years, the average expenditure was £32,000, 00*v.* per annum; the revenue wrung from the pockets of the people to meet this expenditure was £4,000,000*v.*; leaving an annual excess of £50,000,000*v.* in our out-goings over our income. Of the mode of expending these enormous and inconceivable sums, he would rather speak in the language of high authority than in his own.

He would therefore quote the report of the Finance Committee of 1817, a committee nominated by the Noble Marquis opposite, and consisting almost wholly of his friends. That report was an absolute confession; under the head " Extraordinaries" it contained the following passages—" Your committee learn that works, buildings, extensions, and repairs, have been undertaken and executed, both at home and abroad, in a manner little checked or protected against profusion and waste; in many cases without any estimate or general plan, and sometimes extended, according to the statement of an officer of the ordnance who attended the committee, 'as views opened during the progress of the work.'" Parliament, it appears, was never consulted in the matter, and the expence was left to adjust itself to the " opening views" of those whose emoluments became greater in proportion to the magnitude of the sums expended. " If (continued the report) the whole sum required for these great works, or even for any one of them, had been at once submitted to the House, by regular estimate, there would have been an opportunity of considering the propriety of undertaking them, and of making previous inquiries with regard to three essential points:—1st. as to the security or means of defence intended to be obtained: 2d. as to the probability of the works in question effecting such security or means of defence; 3d. as to the value of the objects to be accomplished by those works, compared with the amount of the sums required for their completion, taking into consideration the probability of their being brought into use in consequence of any operation of an enemy." The report then set forth that £9,029,333 had been expended in this irregular and unsatisfactory manner, " while the utility of these vast works was never put to the proof in the various chances of the late war." The evident meaning of the passages he had read was this—" That if you, the House of Commons, had refused supplies, until the estimates were laid before you—if you had considered the necessity of erecting those works before you voted your money—not your money, but the money of your impoverished constituents, (hear, hear)—if you had taken those fair precautions which men of common honesty would have adopted—those works never would have been attempted—this monstrous evil would not have existed—those millions, wrung from the industry of the people, would not have been uselessly squandered." In the three years he had mentioned there was taken out of the pockets of the people, exclusive of county and parish-rates, the amazing sum of £252,000,000, which would have been more than sufficient to extinguish the national debt at the time Mr. Pitt instituted the sinking-fund. Well, after these years of unparalleled expence peace had arrived, but not attended by the blessings which usually accom-

pany peace; for, leaving out of the question any difference in the currency, the taxes were at the same nominal amount in 1820 as in 1806, though the former was the fifth year of peace, and the latter the fourth of active war. Mr. Brougham then proceeded to show the vast evils which had arisen from abandoning a metallic currency. He stated the different degrees of depreciation in the paper money from the suspension of cash payments in 1797, and the main conclusion which he drew from his calculations was, that the country paid last year as large an actual amount of taxation as it had paid in the most extravagant year of the late expensive war. The distresses of the farmer were not surprising, when it was considered how much the weight of taxation had increased since 1792: the revenue was then, including Ireland, £18,000,000; now it was £61,000,000: the farmers' returns had fallen nearly to what they were in 1792, but his establishments, his expenditure, his taxes, were increased four-fold.

The reduction of rents had been strongly recommended, and was undoubtedly necessary. But as reduction had become quite necessary to the farmer, so the undiminished rents were necessary to the landlord, and the utmost reductions which could be made were inadequate. The farmer complained that wheat sold 20*s.* per quarter lower than it had cost him for growing it. Suppose that 10*s.* was the truth, though he thought this underrated it, and suppose that three quarters to the acre was a fair average, the farmer would lose 30*s.* per acre—more than the average amount of rent. So that if the rent were reduced cent. per cent. or even 150 per cent. the farmer would still have a right to complain. Nothing was more just than the reduction of rents, though it was more than the landlord could afford; but it was not effectual relief to the farmer. (Cheers.) If they could contrive to reduce the expences 30*s.* per acre, then the produce would pay the expence. To raise prices he held to be impossible; and to reduce the expence of growing corn was only practicable by a reduction of taxation. One of the reasons why the agricultural class at present suffered more than others from taxation was, that other classes could more easily transfer their capital, proportion and modify their article of production, than the agriculturist. When the demand fell short, they could more immediately curtail the supply. One of the important effects of an augmentation of the taxes was a proportionate increase of the poor rates, which, from half a million in 1750, and two millions at the beginning of the last war, had reached at one time to eight millions, and might now be reasonably estimated at six. The only hope of relief to the suffering classes lay in a determined reduction of the taxes which oppressed them. (Hear.) Not in a paltry reduction of a million, or a million and half, or two millions, but in lopping off at once some such considerable burden as should enable the starving farmer to live—in some serious relief to the community, which must enable men to exist under the pressure that would remain. (hear.)

He had already shown that, under the name of paying less than it had paid in time of war, the country, in fact, was paying quite as much; that, with the semblance of paying millions less than had been paid in the heart of the war, the country, in reality, paid seven millions a year

more; that with a pretence of paying less than had been paid in those years called years of expence, the country paid a million more in the present year than she had ever paid in the most extravagant year of the contest; and that in the year just passed, the situation had been the same. Why, then, even say that taxes to the amount of 7 or 8 millions were now taken off, the country would still be paying as much as she had paid in the year 1806, or in the year 1807—years of war and of profuse expenditure—years of distress, and almost of ruin—years in which the country was told to look forward to peace for relief—years when all classes were gulled out of their money, and when parliament was duped into becoming the accomplice of Government in grinding a suffering people to the uttermost, and when all the consolation, all the argument, all the temptation held out was this—“this cannot last; peace must come; with peace will come retrenchment and a reduction of taxes, and with retrenchment and reduction will return the prosperity of England.” Peace had come at last, but it had brought no healing influence on its wings. Still, in the defiance of all retrenchment and all economy, much of public burden would necessarily remain; and he (Mr. Brougham) had no hesitation in saying, that if, after all the resources of economy were exhausted—if after every possible reduction had been effected—if after a large amount of load was taken off, the country should still find the state of the farming interest so bad, that landed gentlemen could not continue to exist in such a state of things, he was not prepared to say that the country ought not to go still farther in relief; his decided opinion upon the subject was, that where the pressure was so great and the interest so mighty—for the very existence of the state was bound up in the prosperity of the land—the country had only one limit to relief—the making that relief decidedly effectual:—that if one measure of reduction would not do, recourse must be had to another, and from thence to another; and that if all reductions were found insufficient, the country must prepare for other measures, for measures only to be justified by a paramount unreasoning necessity. (Loud cheers.) He should say that the hour of necessity was come, if the landowners of England were to continue permanently in the state, or in any thing like the state in which they now stood: for it was well to talk, in honied accents, of suiting the supply to the demand, and of throwing bad land out of cultivation—of changes in society, from one employment to another—of transfer, for that was an expression which did wonders, and of what one man lost being gained by another. These words, however smoothly they might sound upon the tongue, would be found, if interpreted, full of serious and of dangerous meaning. They supposed the laying waste of a large and fair portion of England; the breaking up of all endearing connexions; the destruction of all local attachments; the most frightful agonies to which the human mind could be subjected; they looked to the tearing up by the roots that fabric of society which might flourish perhaps in this country, most ornamentally towards its summit, but which was bottomed upon the foundation of a solid landed interest, and which must crumble into dust when that landed interest should be no more. (Cheers.) And he (Mr. Brougham) said that the landed interest was no

more when proprietors were reduced to traffic in securities—when they were compelled from day to day to a life of traffic and of speculation, instead of living like country gentlemen, and like gentlemen of England. (Hear, hear, hear.) To be distressed by every little neighbour within sight of the gate; to be fearful at the approach of every new comer who should appear; to glean a scanty pittance of rent from a tenantry as suffering as themselves; and, at last, having gleaned from that tenantry all their earnings, to be forced to come upon their savings; and, their savings being exhausted, to be obliged to drive them out or sell them up, taking the rent (as it now was taken) out of the Farmer's capital, and not out of his revenue; and then being forced to emigrate, to mortgage, and eventually to sell; then the process of transfer, as it was called, became complete; and, instead of the former owners, a new race of proprietors were distributed through the country. The only means of avoiding such a national calamity was to cut off every charge which it was possible to get rid of; not only to lop off the salaries of a few poor clerks—with an occasional little job of throwing three clerkships into one in order to provide for some favorite or friend, but to begin the retrenchment at the very highest point, and to carry it downwards through every department of the state.

The years 1815 and 1816 had been years of low prices and of affected economy; and the year 1816 one would have thought, of all years in the cycle, was the farthest from warranting any increase of salary. And yet he found the Commissioners of Customs and of Excise, and the chairmen of those Boards, in the year 1816, endowed with an addition to their already considerable stipends. (Hear, hear.) At a time when, instead of adding any thing, part ought to have been taken away, these increases were given as compensations for some loss of patronage. (Hear, hear.) Two or three yachts had been laid up, the nomination of officers to them ceased; and that was a calamity to be made up by an increase of salary! But the taste of ministers in these matters was quite delightful; the neatness, the uniformity which their arrangements displayed: for, to preserve the symmetry of the whole set of officers, the commissioners of stamps got the same increase of salary although they had lost no patronage at all. (Hear.) [A member said that the commissioners of stamps had lost some patronage.] He could not but be delighted at the style in which these rights were asserted, and at the nicey with which the worth of patronage was estimated in money. But there was another instance of augmentation in the year 1817, which was really worth the attention of the House; it was to the salary of the Secretary of the Board of Control. The original salary attached to that situation was 1,500*l* a year which was thought too little for an office of such importance, and in the year 1818 or 1814, during the war at all events 300*l*. a year was added, making the salary 1,800*l*. Within two years after, to wit, in the year 1815, it was discovered that the honorable member who dignified the office had been no less than five years in possession of his situation. Conduct so praise worthy could not decently go unrewarded. (Laughter.) If such an act did not deserve remuneration what did? (Hear, hear.) If it was not merit, who could hope to

be meritorious. (Hear and laughter.) Five years in his pest! It was a signal instance of that propensity to keep place, which was the support of ministers and the blessing of the country. (Much laughter.) "Let his salary," said ministers with one voice.—"Let his salary be increased 200*l.* a year." And for the honorable secretary's religious adherence to office, and as an encouragement to him to persevere still farther in the same virtuous course, his salary, from 1,800*l.* was made 2,000*l.* per annum. (Excessive laughter.) So bright a reward for meritorious conduct could scarcely fail to produce the best effects; and in fact the honorable secretary continued two years longer in office, to evince his gratitude for the bounty which had been showered upon him. (Hear, hear.) What! two years more? he must be rewarded again, (shouts of laughter,) or the state would go to decay for want of steady servants. It would be in vain to have great places of 1,500*l.* and 2,000*l.* a year, if they did not reward fidelity like this no one would accept them.—(Hear and laughter.) Accordingly the salary was advanced 200*l.* a year more, attaining then—it was hard to say the maximum—but attaining the line upon which it rested just at present (Cheers,) from all he had heard, not from ministers, but from those adherents who were too much countenanced by them, he felt he should not be discharging his duty if he did not guard members against those visionary schemes by which it was proposed to aid the distressed classes—schemes, visionary in every thing from which real relief could be expected, and substantial in nothing but in their being a bar to a practical reduction of taxation. The hon. and learned member concluded, amidst loud cheers, by moving a resolution which was in substance—"That it is the bounden duty of this House, well considering the pressure of the public burdens on all classes of the community, and particularly on the agricultural classes, to pledge itself to obtain for a suffering people such a reduction of taxation as would afford them effectual relief."

*The Leeds Mercury, 12th June, 1824.*

Ministers have done much, during the last few years, to liberalize the commercial system of this country. They have abolished several injurious monopolies and restrictions, have boldly repealed some of the most ancient laws erroneously imagined to protect the mercantile interest, and now seem to act upon the just conviction, that they cannot better promote the prosperity of the country, than by leaving capital to choose its own employment, and traders to take care of themselves. The East Indies have been opened to private merchants; the West Indies have been allowed to find nearer and better markets; a perfectly free intercourse with Ireland has been established; the venerated Navigation Act, founded upon principles of jealousy, has been repealed; the silk and the woollen trades have been made comparatively free; the beer trade is about to be disengaged of its restrictions; the penal laws against an open purchase and sale of labour to be abrogated, and the chains intended to bind down our artisans to this island to be broken. These are great benefits, for which we feel grateful not only to ministers, but to all those enlightened members

of parliament, who, guided by the sound principles of political economy, have laboured to dissipate old prejudices, and to show the advantages of unlimited freedom of trade. Several classes in the trading part of the community, whose interests seemed to be protected by the restrictions which have been removed, have viewed and still continue to view these innovations with sensitive apprehension. This is invariably the case, whenever an improvement is projected; but we are convinced that the general and permanent benefit resulting from the change in our commercial system will incalculably outweigh the partial and temporary inconvenience, even if any inconvenience should be felt, and that in a few years the change will be looked back upon, with universal and unqualified admiration.

We rejoice, however, in the liberal principles on which ministers are acting, more from our hopes of what they will produce, than from our approbation of what they have effected. It would be a great mistake to imagine that every thing has now been accomplished. The most important subjects are yet to be approached, the most grievous and pernicious monopolies are yet to be subverted. The sugar trade and the tea trade, as at present engrossed by the East India and the West India interests, impose heavy taxes on the nation, for the sole benefit of a few individuals, or the still worse end of supporting mismanagement, corruption, and slavery. Above all, that giant grievance, that grand commercial anomaly, that universal pest—the Corn Law, is to be revised and corrected. The agricultural monopoly is the most unmixed and enormous evil in the whole commercial system of this country: its injustice and oppressiveness to the nation at large are scarcely less to be deplored, than the ruin it often brings upon the farmers and landlords who cling to it as a protection. In removing minor restrictions on trade, we hope ministers have only been clearing their way to attack this colossal restriction,—have only been removing some of those defences, in which the powerful but ignorant advocates of the Corn Laws have formerly taken shelter. The Chancellor of the Exchequer in particular owes it no less to his own reputation than to the country, to pull down, now that his eyes are opened, the monopoly which in his blindness he was the instrument of erecting.

The Corn Laws are avowedly intended to raise and to keep up the price of the chief necessary of life. A very simple calculation will show at what expense to the community this is effected: forty millions of quarters of corn are annually consumed in this country; therefore every shilling added to its price is a tax of two millions sterling on the public; it follows, that if the price of corn is raised eight or ten shillings above what it would be under a system of free importation, the restriction costs the nation sixteen or twenty millions sterling a year. This is plain arithmetic.

But what say the manufacturing and mercantile classes of the community to this tax, so much worse than the income tax? What say the shipping, the silk, and the woollen interests, who are left to compete unprotected with other countries, at the continuance of this great monopoly? They say truly that they are treated with injustice; that the principles of free trade, to which their own little monopolies have been sacrificed, are

not followed up by the abolition of that grand monopoly which oppresses them in common with the whole country; that they meet the foreign manufacturer under a disadvantage, owing to the high price of labour; that they are compelled to put up with a low rate of profit; and that this must be injurious not only to themselves individually, but to the nation at large, in retarding the accumulation of capital, and encouraging the transference of it from this to other countries.

*The Leeds Mercury, 26 June, 1824.*

In our paper of the 12th inst. we showed the serious evils and oppressive burdens brought upon the country by the restrictions on the trade in Corn. We demonstrated, by a simple calculation, that a tax of no less than sixteen or twenty millions sterling was imposed on the nation by the effect of the Corn Laws in raising the price of the chief necessary of life. We showed that this occasioned a universal rise in the price of labour, and a corresponding diminution in the rate of profit. And we also proved, by a reference to notorious facts, that the restrictions which bore so heavily on the people at large were not less pernicious and afflictive to the agriculturists themselves, by causing ruinous fluctuations in the value of their produce. We shall now briefly examine the principal arguments by which the monopoly of corn is defended.

First the advocates of a restricted corn trade contend that the English agriculturist is entitled to protection against foreign competition, on account of the heavy taxes he has to pay. It is manifest, however, that he has no right to claim protection on the ground of the general weight of taxation, but only on the ground of these taxes which press exclusively upon agriculture. For if the agriculturist were entitled to claim protection on the account of the general oppressiveness of taxation, every other produce in the country would have the same right; and every foreign commodity, therefore, which could come into competition with a commodity of English production, would either be excluded or laden with heavy duties. But to tax all imported articles would be a general burden, not a general protection; and to tax foreign corn alone would be unfair to every class except the agriculturists. Now the taxes which press exclusively upon agriculture are not numerous, and they are in some degree counterbalanced by the expense of bringing so bulky a commodity as corn from other countries, which of course operates as a tax on the foreign producer: but if, in addition to this, a duty of 10 or 12 per cent. were laid on corn imported, the English agriculturist would enjoy all the protection which his exclusive taxes entitle him to demand. So much for the plea founded on taxation as far as the agriculturist is concerned. But let us look at this plea as it affects the nation. The people of England have to pay sixty millions of taxes a year, to support the government, and discharge the interest of their debt: therefore, it is fitting to lay on twenty millions more, in order to protect the agriculturist! Taxation has raised the price of labour, has lowered profit, has made it more difficult for the manufacturer to cope with his foreign

competitors; therefore we must remedy the evil by a still further augmentation of our burdens! This is silly enough, but it is what the defenders of the Corn Laws propose to the nation. The heavier our taxes are, the more necessary it evidently becomes to avail ourselves of every foreign resource, which, by lowering the cost of the necessaries of life, shall diminish the encumbrances that impede our course in the race of commerce.

The advocates of the Corn Laws plead, secondly, that the monopolies enjoyed by several classes of our manufacturers justify them in demanding the monopoly of corn. This plea would have something of fairness, if the legislative protection given to our manufactures were any thing more than a dead letter; but whilst it is notorious that our manufacturers of nearly every description are the best and cheapest in the world, and have triumphantly maintained a competition with all others in foreign markets, it cannot be supposed that we have any reason to dread the competition of foreign manufactures in our own market, or to hope that we should be able to purchase our clothing, &c. cheaper abroad than at home. This plea, therefore, is void. But, supposing that it were not so, and that our manufactures enjoyed a real protection, this would not justify a restriction on the trade in corn; because the latter article is of so much greater importance and more extensive consumption than any of our manufactures, that a monopoly which effects its price is incomparably more injurious to the nation, than one which affects any other article. Whatever force this plea might once be imagined to have is gradually diminishing, in consequence of the liberal commercial system now adopted, and shortly, we trust, not a peg will remain in the statute book for the agriculturists to hang an argument upon in favour of monopoly.

Being defeated in the first two positions, the defenders of the Corn Laws assert, that, whatever arguments economists may use, it is a well-known fact, that, the price of corn on the Continent is so low as to defy all competition on the part of the English grower. We deny the assertion. Much error exists on this point, and the agriculturists have carefully cherished it by representing the price of corn on the Continent as much lower than it really is. It was clearly established by the evidence given before the agricultural committee of the House of Commons, in 1821, that the price of corn in Dantzic, Holland, and America, on the average of several years before the war, was such, that the commodity could not be imported from any of those markets into England for less than 57s. a quarter—a price very little lower than that of this country in the years 1803 and 1804. This is a fact not to be set aside by any vague representations of the fertility of Poland and the Crimea, and the cheapness of cultivation in those countries. It is plain, therefore, that we can never hope for (and the agriculturist need never fear) the importation of corn into this country at a price so low as to throw out of cultivation any lands except those of very inferior quality. We say hope for, because we are ready to contend, that if foreign corn could be had for 30s. a quarter, it would a great national blessing; that the lower the price of this necessary of life the better; and that (although a partial and temporary inconvenience

might result from throwing inferior soils out of tillage) the same general and permanent advantage would be felt from a reduction in the price of corn, as has resulted from the reduction of the price of cottons. No one doubts that the diminished cost of this latter article, which has been effected by our improved machinery, is a national benefit; and it would be just as wise to destroy all that machinery, and recur to the old method of manufacturing, as it is to deprive ourselves of the cheap produce of other countries, for the sake of tilling the stubborn soils of our own.

It is alleged fourthly, that however desirable it may be to purchase cheap corn from other countries, we have no certainty of procuring a regular supply, and in time of war, our supplies being cut off, we should be exposed to the peril of famine. This assertion, like the preceding, is a delusion, and is refuted by the experience of this and other countries. Holland at no time grew sufficient corn to supply the wants of its inhabitants yet this necessary of life was always as plentiful in the market of Amsterdam as in any part of Europe: with this advantage superadded, that the price was more steady in that country than in any other of the world. But are we not dependent on foreign countries for many of the commodities which are absolutely essential to us, without having ever been deprived of them. Hemp, the very sinew of our naval strength, comes to us wholly from the Baltic; yet we never were deprived of it even during the height of the late war. We grow no cotton, no silk, no oranges; but did we ever want them? Have they not reached us in spite of all restrictions and all wars? the fact is, that a country which exports any of its products to a great extent cannot bear to be deprived of the usual outlet; that the most ruinous consequences would result to the sellers, as well as to the buyers, from an interruption of the trade; that sovereigns, therefore, very seldom venture to interrupt such a commerce: and that when they do attempt it, they cannot succeed. If we took a regular supply of corn from Poland or France, the cultivators of those countries would look to us regularly for a market, and would invariably supply our wants. The closer our intercourse with these countries became, the more it would be the interest of all parties to abstain from war; and thus a great moral blessing would be secured by the establishment of sound commercial regulations.

As a last refuge, the supporters of the Corn Laws plead the great destruction of capital that would be occasioned by throwing the inferior soils out of cultivation. Unfortunately, however, nearly the same amount of capital is liable to be destroyed every six or seven years under the present system, in consequence of the ruinous fluctuations in the price of corn, which at one time give the highest encouragement to cultivation, and at another induce the farmer to abandon the tillage of his least productive soils. But if this were not the case, it surely would be a blunder of the grossest kind to bind capital permanently to a disadvantageous employment, and to keep up the price of the chief necessary of life, in order to avoid the sacrifice of a small portion of that capital. When an improvement takes place in machinery every wise manufacturer abandons his old machines and purchase the new ones, finding the sacrifice of capital to

be far less than the sacrifice of profit that would attend the continued use of the inferior implements. The same principle applies to agriculture, and to every other employment.

The Corn Laws, then, being productive of so much unqualified evil, we trust the manufacturing and commercial districts of the country will, on the next meeting of parliament, petition earnestly for their repeal. An excellent petition has recently been sent up by the spirited inhabitants of Liverpool in favor of an unrestricted corn trade, and we should be glad to see the populous towns of this Riding, with Leeds at their head, raise their voice in favor of this great improvement in our commercial system.



### THE RENT LAWS.

*To the Editor of the Leeds Mercury.*

Sir.—Though a stranger to you, I am induced by the article in your paper of the 26th ult. on the Corn Laws; or as I shall call them, the Rent Laws; to write you my case, with a few observations:—I have a wife, eight children under 14 years of age, and two in-door servants—every mouth of which is fed at my expence. Prior to 1822, I was getting in debt, in consequence of the high prices of provisions. In that year, or thereabouts, I was enabled, by great frugality, to apply about £20 yearly in the discharge of my debts; but now I am suffering again, by having, not that £20 only, but £44 5s. 8d. yearly taken from me by the rent Laws, the particulars of which I will thus state:—

Expences of Agricultural Produce in a Family of 12 Persons.	In 1822		In 1824.	
	Weekly.	Yearly.	Weekly.	Yearly.
	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.
Bakers' Bill .....	6 5 0	13 0 0	0 9 0	23 8 0
Butchers' Ditto.....	0 11 6	29 18 0	1 2 3	57 17 0
Vegetables .....	0 1 2	3 0 8	0 2 7	6 14 4
Malt Yearly .....		9 13 0		12 0 0
	17 8	55 13 8	1 13 10	
The Artificial Price in consequence of Corn Laws.....				99 19 4
Natural Price .....				53 13 8
Yearly Tax on a Family of 12 Persons .....				£44 5 8

This is independent of cheese and Butter, which my wife provided.

As my credit, on account of my circumstances, is not very good, and as the £20 cannot be longer applied in discharge of my old debts, I cannot incur new ones to the amount of the now deficiency in my income of £24 5s. 8d. my family must therefore starve to that amount, and the fat which ought to fabricate the entrails of my children, must go to grease the wheels of the carriages of the Landlords. This is a faithfull picture of the sufferings of myself and my family, under the high Rent Laws.

In the next place, I wish to call your attention to the enormity of the Rent Tax in the gross.

In the first place, the Landlords are the people, and the only people, benefitted by the Rent Laws; then come the Farmers and their families: they may be considered as producers, not as consumers by purchase. In this middle state, they (the farmers) are neither benefitted or injured by high prices; otherwise than as farms will always be let or rated in proportion to prices. The farmer of any given quantity of land will require greater capital with high prices, to obtain the same profit as low prices would give him; therefore, in this respect he is injured. To find the number of families taxed by high Rent Laws, the number of non-producers must be ascertained, and taking the number of each family to be the same as mine, (12) there are in the United Kingdom 1,500,000 families. Allowing each Landlord on the average to have 5,000 acres, and each farm to be 500 acres, the number of Landlords' and Tenants' families are 154,000, which taken from the whole population, leaves 1,346,000 families of 12 persons each, as Purchasers—each family taxed at £44 5s. 8d. yearly, is a gross sum of £59,224,000, without the fractions, which is upwards of £300,000 more!!! How many families, besides my own, must not only spend that income they should apply to other purposes, in the payment of this high Rent Starvation Tax, but how many more must, like my family, starve, or half starve, in consequence of it? Those also who have enough, should petition, and earnestly too, for the repeal of such a Tax.

Add the above difference of £59,224,000 to the Taxes of 1824, and see what the amount of taxation will be. The Government taxes are reduced about 5 millions, and the Landlord's tax of 59 millions laid on, this then is an increase of taxation of 54 millions, instead of relief. But to do any thing effectually, the public Journals should take up the matter as you have done; meetings should be held in every place as the Agriculturists held theirs; the Chairmen of the County Meetings should meet in London, as Webb Hall and his Compeers did; and if necessary a "Free Corn Trade Journal" should be established, to combat the Sophistry of the Farmers' Journal; these things done, the High Rents Laws would melt like snow in a Summer's Sun. I anticipate much good from the article in your paper, of which the Morning Chronicle gave an extract, I wish this may appear in that paper through yours, I wish it may appear in Cowdry's Manchester Gazette, from which there was another extract in the Chronicle.

Let parliament enact the import price at 60s. for the next year, and to be lower 4s. yearly, until it be quite free. The expence of importation is equal to sixpence per bushel, and by the Corn Law Taxation Table that clearly appears to amount to 21 millions, and it is curious to observe the coincidence between that Table and my calculation, £44 5s. 8d. tax on twelve persons, is £3 13s. 9d. per head, and by the Table 1s. 6d. rise in the bushel of wheat, by Act. of Parliament, is a poll tax of £3. 10s. Wheat is about 1s. 6d. dearer than in 1822; whence arises my calculation. The gross amount in the Table is 63 millions, deduct for the landlords and tenants as I have done, and it will agree in that respect also.

A SUFFERER.

### *Relief wanted to Cottagers and Farmers.*

Forty years ago no farmer missed a rent day. If his money did not come in time, his neighbours lent him some to make up his rent, so that they never missed; all confidence, comfort, credit, harmony and happiness prevailed among them. Nor was there any want among the cottagers. If the meal was delayed at the mill, or the money, or any other provision wanting, some of their neighbours lent them what they wanted freely and hospitably, and the same obligation was returned by both with the same good will, so that all was concord and happiness among them. But now the reverse has taken place; poverty, inability, discord, and hatred of each other prevails; many, there are, of both, who have the above-mentioned wants, who have no friends to relieve them, and who are more ready to steal from, and cheat each other, than to relieve them in their need. Unbearable rents and taxes, and other oppressive measures, are the baneful causes of this poverty, discord, and hatred of each other among farmers and cottagers; this is a truth confirmed to me by many.

Is it not then a loud call upon superiors to destroy these great evils. I beseech you, superiors, to help the poor and the bold peasantry, who have been England's glory, (and farmers), to flourish again, and once more be the glory of Britain.

### *Reasons for lowering the Price of Bread, and all other Provisions.*

The most weighty reason that can be urged in favor of lowering the price of bread, and all other necessaries of life, will be found in the comparison of the numbers who are in affluence and competency, and those who get wages which will support them comfortably, with the number of those who cannot command such wages, the sick and unfortunate, poor widows and orphans, paupers and beggars, wounded soldiers and sailors, and many others who have small limited incomes, which they cannot increase.

I presume the nine latter classes will out-number the three former in the proportion of ten to one in some places, and twenty to one in others, if we take the kingdom through. And the latter nine classes would be restored from poverty and want to comfort, by a salutary successful effort on the part of superiors to reduce the price of provisions; and little do we know whose children of the present day are to have the misfortune to fall into poverty. How much the nine latter would thank and praise the two first for such a salutary act, and how much comfort and pleasure they would afford society thereby, is beyond the most extensive imagination to describe. And I beg leave to ask, would not such a salutary measure gratify charity, humanity and the soundest policy by invigorating and making strong all the essential and vital bands of society.

I challenge those in affluence and competency, the most acute agriculturist and the most profound philoso-

pher, or any other, to prove that the condition, comforts and happiness of affluence and competency can be improved by increasing the price of bread, and the other necessaries of life. Then why so many artificial means to keep up the price of corn and other provisions. The extravagant price of corn is the root of all the great evils which come to all nations.

Having so sincerely advocated the cause of the poor labourer and others, I must not forget to point out to the labouring man his greatest comfort, happiness and safety, which I hope to prove is in fair competent constant wages. How often does the labouring man, who commands greater wages than common, go to the alehouse, get habits of idleness and drinking, and thereby become a worse husband, a worse parent, a worse member of society, and, in the end, complete his own ruin and that of his family. I once wanted some money of a man at Manchester, who, it was said, could earn a guinea and a half a-week. I called on him to pay me, and found his wife in rags and a pair of clogs, and the children running about the house without stockings and shoes, and the husband drunk at the alehouse, and, consequently, unable to pay me. I hope these facts, which are too well known, will satisfy the labouring man that his master, who restrains him to fair competent constant wages, is his best friend; though, for want of considering the bad effects of the above-mentioned great wages, he perhaps thinks him not so; but if the labourer will consider it well, he will find his master is his best friend, and has perhaps as hard work as he can do himself; and if he does not endeavour to produce his goods at a fair price at market, his trade would be lost, and be the ruin of both master and man.

### *Proofs that our heavy Taxation, and high Rents, keep the middling and lower Orders of the People in poverty.*

After drawing the above-mentioned gloomy, but true, picture of this once happy nation, I feel it necessary to endeavour to convince all those of its truth, who have not given themselves time to know the state of the land of their nativity, in which they have lived all their lives, for want of inclination for such knowledge; and perhaps wander abroad to see the variety and beauties (as they fancy) of other countries, before they have taken time to view and discover the defects, and to contemplate the superior beauties and excellencies of their own.

This nation owes about 800 millions of money, the interest at .5 per cent. is 40 millions per annum. Surely such an enormous debt, as no other nation in the world ever contracted. And we may add above 20 millions a year more for the necessary support of the nation. And the baneful and unnecessary support of bribery and corruption, and unmerited sinecure places and pensions, and nobody knows what beside, is above 60 millions a year. And this is paid in taxes by the consumers of the produce of the land, which keeps the

middling and lower orders in poverty, who have no means of increasing their income: and though you may say it is in part paid by the high ranks, you will find they are supported by the middling and lower orders; and whether the landlord or tenant be called upon to pay it, the farmer must have it from the tenant, and the tenant must have it from the consumer. Is not industry, mercantile enterprize, and the circulation of money, the source of the wealth and greatness of all prosperous and happy nations.

And it is well known that many private fortunes have been wasted by the folly, imprudence, and extravagance of the owners. And it is equally plain that the folly and extravagance of the administration or governors of a country, will, in process of time, ruin a whole empire, as history proves they have done, and caused revolutions, which is the greatest misery that can beset a nation, and ought to be the study and endeavour of every one to prevent. This nation, I am sure, would never recover a revolution, it would be everlasting misery and ruin to it.

But a reformation in Parliament would prevent such a calamity, and be the most cordial balm, and would infuse comfort, pleasure, happiness, and safety, into all ranks and degrees, and the whole of this once happy and mighty empire.

Compare a nation to an individual, and you will find they are the same, only the nation is on the larger scale, and requires more time to complete its ruin. And you will find they are subject to the same casualties. But the governors of nations are, and have, universally been guilty of more imprudence and extravagance than individuals, or else the governors of this nation would never have contracted a debt of 800 millions of money, and continue as extravagant and thoughtless about her debilitated and dangerous state, as if she owed nothing. Is it not then the duty of every one to warn her of her danger, before ruin come upon her suddenly, or like a thief in the night. Is not this an additional proof, that she is a bewildered, infatuated and misgoverned nation.

Did not Carthage, Rome, France, Spain, and many other nations fall by those six dire enemies to all nations, viz. bribery, corruption, luxury, tyranny, oppression and poverty; for want of adhering to the warning voices of those days.

How can a nation have this unbearable sum to pay annually, but the middling and lower orders of the people must always be in poverty by paying it.

The poor people used to pay one penny per ounce for tobacco, they now pay four-pence, which occasions much complaining. I beg leave to advise its being reduced to two-pence per ounce, which would very much relieve the poor, and prevent the crime of smuggling, and perhaps not reduce the revenue.

*To the Editor of the Wakefield and Halifax Journal, and the whole Population of the British Empire, on the Export and Import of Wool.*

Being no Merchant, Manufacturer, Woolstapler, or

**Farmer, I write to you, as a sincere friend to the welfare of our dear country.**

I am indeed, hurt and grieved, to hear some of my good countrymen (Merchants and Manufacturers) guilty of so great an error, upon one of the most vital questions to that most important of all earthly subjects, Agriculture. I am grieved to witness that they have suffered what they erroneously fancy is a private or local interest, to divide them from those of better judgment, and treat as such, two of the most important national questions that ever came before Parliament—the export and import of wool.

Can they forget the wisdom of their forefathers, in making the most strict laws, to prevent the export of their wool, which is such as no part of the world produceth but these islands: and that they, and the whole empire, have reaped the benefits of the same? Has it not improved your agriculture, increased your wealth, made your navigations, turnpike-roads, and many other improvements? Has it not been the source of your wealth and population? Did not your poor brave soldiers, taken from the population, fight the battle of Waterloo, and did not they conquer and save us from ruin: and when the Duke of Wellington was complimented upon that victory, his Lordship said “no: the merit doth not belong to me, but the superior physical force and invincible constancy of the British soldier? Would you then annihilate that population and source of your wealth and greatness, by exporting your wool? And is not that population, and your poor people, entitled to your protection, in a political, religious, lawful, and moral view?

Have not European Kings and others, been to see the source of your wealth and greatness, and discovered it in your population, industry, and mercantile enterprise? And are not they gone home with the determination to encourage and promote in their own countries, that which has made you so great? You have too much competition at home, and you will find the same is growing to a great extent abroad. Is it not then, your first bounden duty, to unite every voice and effort to prevent the exportation of your wool? Is it not the seat which our Nobles all sit on in the House of Lords; what will you substitute as a seat for them, when you have sent it away?

You are forcing and increasing, that Foreign competition, by the tax of 6d. per lb. upon Foreign wool, (much of which is not worth that price); you are therefore by this tax, compelling them to be manufacturers; to make money of their Wool, which they have no other way of converting into money.

Mark the absurdity of the thought of exporting your Wool! such as no other country in the world can produce, at the time that you are importing Wool and Woollen rags, to employ your population, from every quarter of the globe.

I admit that agriculture is entitled to every protection and encouragement, but be very careful you do not miss the way to that protection, and if those interested in its prosperity, as we all are, do agree to export our Wool, we shall be penny wise, and pound foolish. They may fancy they may gain a little, but they will lose above ten times more, by lowering the price of beef, mutton, corn, &c. when they have driven the people (their

customers) away to another country, or deprived them of the means of getting money to buy the above-mentioned articles at home.

With your Wool would go, or follow, your people, merchants, and manufacturers, who are the source of your greatness, and that loss would be followed by a decay of your trade, ruin and bankruptcies, of those who have embarked their capitals in manufactories, merchants, farmers, and many others. Then I beg leave to ask, who are to keep our poor, and pay our taxes, when we are all become paupers, for want of work and a circulation of money?

That competition which is growing so fast abroad, is the strongest reason that can be urged, why we should have no tax upon the import of Wool: be cautious how you attempt to remedy the tooth-ache, and throw the whole body into a dangerous fever.

Put no tax upon your industry, it is that, your population, mercantile enterprise, and the circulation of money, which pay all your taxes. Have you not such a debt and load of taxes to pay, as no other people upon the face of the earth, though you have only a few small Islands and some Colonies.

The Foreign cloth buyers say, “let us have your English Wool, and we shall not want your English cloth.” Can I give a stronger proof that the exportation of our Wool will be ruinous?

Unite, and never agree to the export of Wool. And never cease to petition, till you have removed that grievous, odious, hateful, impolitic, oppressive tax, upon the import of it. This tax is allowed to be no object as a revenue; then why continue that which is so extremely injurious to the industrious manufacturer? Don’t miscarry on confidence. How many men have failed upon many of the most important questions, for want of caution and watchful care? I warn you not to be guilty of the same on this great occasion. Be active, be vigilant.

Many Farmers are as much alarmed at the fear that our Wool should be exported, and the tax not be taken from the import of it, as the manufacturers themselves, because they say, their interests are inseparable.

Let me impress you with the indisputable fact that the interest of agriculture and manufactures are inseparable: they have given life and spirit to each other, and must live or die together. Never cease to nourish and protect them as such, till you have reduced your taxes and rents and made yourself able to compete with, or meet other nations at market with your cloth; if you do not, the competition abroad will be your ruin.

I say again, be active, vigilant, and watchful, sleep upon your arms, for your enemy’s competition abroad is awake, and proceeding with rapidity. Don’t think your security is in your superior industry and machinery, or in any thing else; your mechanics, industrious and ingenious men will go abroad, and if they go with their heads on, they will carry your machinery with them—if they have not already done it.

Your unbearable taxes and high rents, are the bane of your agriculture, manufactures, and welfare.

Do not forget that your population is increasing every day, and with that, all your wants are increasing, and that it is your duty to provide for those wants, as your forefathers did for you.

The nation's thanks are due unto the Earle of Harewood, and our two worthy Members of Parliament, for their judicious conduct and perseverance, to prevent such an evil coming upon our country, as the export of our Wool, and also to remove the tax upon the import of the same.

I am, respectfully, Sir,  
Your most obedient and humble Servant,  
RICHARD MILNES.

Netherton-Hall, near Wakefield, }  
October 14th, 1823.

### *A Song on Wool our great Treasure, and Sheep Shearing.*

When the rose was in bud, and sweet violets did blow,  
And birds singing love songs on every bough,  
When daisies, and cowslips, and primroses spread,  
Adorning, perfuming, the flowery mead.

When daisies, &c.

Our cleanly milk pail is fill'd with brown ale,  
Our table our table's the grass,  
We sit and we sing and we dance in a ring,  
Ev'ry lad ev'ry lad has his lass,  
Without the plough fat oxen low,  
The lads and the lasses a sheep shearing go.  
Without the plough, &c.

When our shepherd shears his jolly jolly fleece,  
How much richer than that which they say was in Greece  
When our shepherd, &c.

"Tis our cloth and our food, and our politic good,  
"Tis the seat 'tis the seat which our nobles all sit on ;  
"Tis our cloth and our food, and our politic good,  
"Tis the seat 'tis the seat which our nobles all sit on ;  
"Tis a mine above ground where our treasure's all found,  
"Tis the gold and the silver of Britain.  
"Tis a mine above ground, &c.

### *A Panegyric justly due to the Nobility, and all the good, loyal, and faithful People of the British Empire.*

We all know that there is among the noble peers of this realm, as much of unsullied honor, loyalty, impartial justice, integrity, charity, humanity, and philanthropy, as can be found in any body of men in the world.

The same may be justly said of the ladies, the gentry, the clergy, the freeholders, the merchants, the army, the navy, the judges, the counsellors, the juries, the solicitors, and the whole of the good and faithful people of the British Empire.

*A Panegyric justly due to his late Majesty King George the III. and his present Majesty King George the IV. of Great Britain.*

At the beginning of last reign, an act was passed on the suggestion of the late King George the III. to make the judges entirely independent of the Crown, by securing to them their places for life. As it appeared to the King, that the dispensers of justice could not be in the slightest degree dependent on the Crown, without danger to the freedom and liberties of the subject. This proves that his late Majesty's noble mind was ornamented by the most unsullied honor, patriotism, liberty, and freedom to his subjects, impartial justice, and integrity.

Can we then suppose that his amiable, honorable, enlightened son George the IV. does not inherit all the amiable and inestimable qualities, which ornamented his revered and honored father. We all know, who remember him in his youthful days, that he displayed them in an eminent degree, and they still remain in his noble breast. And whenever it becomes necessary to bring them into action, they will shine forth like the bright sun at noon-day. Whenever justice calls, and the constitution declares itself in danger, they will come to the protection of both in their native and juvenile vigour, and like his good father, not only join in the restoration and preservation of both, but improve them if possible, as much or more than his beloved father did in the above-mentioned act.

Then let justice, the constitution, and the whole nation complain of their danger, in the loss of their authority, in the House of Commons, and petition his Majesty to enable the people to restore their just, right, vital, and inalienable power and interest in the House of Commons, which appears to have become the representatives of the administration or ministers of the day, and not the representatives of the good, loyal, and faithful people, which the constitution originally made them.

It is therefore impossible that the brave, loyal, and good people of Great Britain can give honor, praise, protection, and affection enough to their dearly and justly beloved King George the IV. and long may he live, and happy may he be, under the protection of the Almighty, here and hereafter, is the most hearty, sincere wish, and prayer, of Richard Milnes, the Author.

### *Copy of a Letter from Sir Henry Harpur, to the Rev. Joshua Eyton, his Chaplain.*

SIR,

I take the liberty of sending you a copy of the words spoken by his Majesty, to Lord Grenville, when applied to on the Catholic Bill, March 1807. The channel through which I received this communication, enables me to assure you, that you may rely on the authenticity. I have read them again and again, with every sentiment of heart-felt pleasure, and with admiration. I have no doubt but the same memorable words that should be engraved, and as far as I know, will be, in the heart of every protestant subject.

"My LORD,

"I am one of those who respect an oath.—I have firmness sufficient to quit my Throne and retire to a cottage, or place my neck on a block or scaffold if my people require it; but I have not resolution to break that oath which I took in the most solemn manner at my coronation."

*A Chapter from the Book of Kings.*

1. Now George the III. was twenty and two years old when he began to reign, and he reigned King over all England forty and seven years.

2. And he did that which was right in the sight of the Lord, and served the Lord his God with all his heart; so that before him was no King like unto him.

3. And it came to pass in those days, that the servants of the King, the wise men of the land, even "all the talents thereof," came in and stood before the King and said, "O King! live for ever."

4. May it please thee, O King! to extend to certain of thy subjects, throughout thy dominions, those gracious indulgencies, which others of their brethren possess; "and the King answered and said, let it be so."

5. Then the wise men of the land, even all the talents thereof, communed among themselves, saying, notwithstanding our Lord the King has granted us this our petition, nevertheless it sufficeth us not.

6. And they returned unto the King and said, be it known unto thee O King! that there exists certain statutes and ordinances, instituted in the dark ages, and ordained in times of ignorance and superstition, when thy forefathers were called unto the Throne of these kingdoms.

7. Which statutes and ordinances, may it please thee O King! to annul and destroy; to the end, that those may be satisfied who were never yet contended, and that those who were ever disaffected may be made loyal.

8. And the King answered and said, Not so.—We cannot dispense with the oath which we have taken: neither will we, that the bulwarks of our Throne be removed, nor the fundamental laws of our kingdom changed.

Then is it not wonderful, that such a people as the above should be blinded, bewildered, and infatuated, by causes which a few of them cannot or will not discover. But the great majority of them are perfectly aware of, and know the cause very well; and as that number is increasing every day, by a conscious belief that we are in a great error, and much danger. I do hope the remedy for the above-mentioned dire diseases, is not far distant.

*Process of American Manufacturers, from the Leeds Mercury, 6th March, 1824.*

The Boston daily advertiser states, that the quantity of flannels manufactured within forty miles of Boston the last year, have exceeded 16,000 pieces, of forty-six yards each, comprising the various qualities and colours usually imported; and the new establishments now going into operation, with the extension of those already in

operation, will manufacture more than 30,000 pieces the present year. Beside there are others in Connecticut and New York of considerable extent; and all of them will be sufficient within eighteen months, to supply the wants of the country.

*Increase of the American Navy.*

A bill has been reported in the Senate of the United States, for building ten sloops of war of the first class, to carry not less than twenty guns each, and appropriating 850,000 dollars for the purpose.

*Liverpool—Saturday.*—The exportation of British manufactures from this port to South America, especially to Buenos Ayres and other southern provinces of that continent, has been greater within the last few weeks than at any former period. Linens, Cottons, and Woolens, especially the first, have been the leading articles of export.

*Leeds Mercury, 19th June, 1824.*

The following extract from the United States Tariff Bill, now in progress through the Senate is deserving of the most serious attention of our woollen and worsted manufacturers:—

On all manufactures of wool, or of which wool shall be a component part, except worsted stuff goods and blankets, which shall pay twenty-five per cent. ad valorem, a duty of thirty per cent. ad valorem, shall be imposed until the thirtieth day of June, one thousand eight hundred and twenty-five; and after that time a duty of thirty-three and a third per cent. ad valorem: provided that on all manufactures of wool, except flannel and baize, the actual value of which, at the place whence imported, shall not exceed thirty-three and a third cents. per square yard, shall be charged with a duty of twenty-five per cent. ad valorem.

We have received the New York papers to the 26th ult.; they confirm the news we gave yesterday, through our private channels of information, respecting the passing of the Tariff Bill. It is now sanctioned by the Executive, and has thus become a law of the United States. We have the Tariff, with all the duties before us, but the pressure of matter to-day prevents its insertion. The high import rates imposed upon British goods by this absurd law, will be severely felt in the manufacturing districts of the country.

*London, Wednesday, June 16, 1824.*

The last mercantile letters from Mexico are very unfavorable. We have seen one from a gentleman who freighted a vessel in August last, with goods which were considered most valuable in the Mexican market; in which he says, that after waiting three months, he has considered it wise to sell at a loss of 40 per cent. upon the prime cost in this country. The warehouses of Mexico are crowded with English merchandise, for which no purchasers can be found, from the double cause of want of money and the uncertain state of the country.

Can there be a stronger proof of our infatuation, than the fact that we have almost half a century past been helping to emancipate others, the most distant nations from slavery; and during the same period, neglected to protect and nourish our freedom at home. Have we not suffered the most dire enemies of freedom, bribery, corruption, luxury, tyranny, and oppression, to rage with unabated fury, and to invade our liberties, and imperceptibly deprive us of our freedom in many respects, and enslaving us, who have known the enjoyment of liberty. Was it not our first bounden duty to fortify and protect ourselves against slavery, and when we had done that, to make ourselves more able, to extend our fostering hand to help other nations, to enjoy freedom, as the good, the brave, the great Americans have done.

But unfortunately we appear to mind nothing but the wild momentary things of this transitory life, forgetting the welfare of posterity, and to provide for the comfort of our children, and our children's children, as our forefathers did for us, and the worse crime of neglecting to prepare ourselves for the happiness of the life to come. I do hope this admonition will move the good people of all religions, who have the happiness of being tolerated in this once happy land, to join hand and heart in this heavenly cause, of our earthly and eternal happiness.

Can there be a greater proof that we are blind and bewildered, than our apparent blindness to the competition in manufactures, at home and abroad, which will be our downfall, if we do not protect South America and reduce our national debt, taxes, public expenditure, rents, and price of provisions, which it appears can only be done by a reformation of Parliament, to enable us to meet other nations at market at present, and in future, or else we shall be ruined. Do not the holy alliance command all Europe, and have not they the power of excluding our trade and manufactures from that continent, to promote their own, and enslave us. And have we any assurance they will not do so. To foresee danger, is said to be the high road to safety. Let us then be no longer blind, bewildered, and infatuated, for the sake of all that is sacred and good, and for the sake of the welfare of our children, and children's children, and our eternal happiness.

Will Great Britain continue to do every thing but the four things needful, viz:—To preserve our manufactures and commerce—To provide for posterity or our children, and children's children, as our forefathers wisely did for us—To restore and nourish our lost freedom—But above all, to prepare ourselves for the happiness of the life to come,

#### *A very important Appendix to my new economical Plan of Road Making.*

On the 27th day of May, 1824, the tolls upon the Wakefield and Austerland turnpike road, Yorkshire, about twenty-six miles long, leading from Wakefield towards Manchester, were let for the enormous advance of £2860. per annum. The old rent was £5080. on a lease of three years, which does not expire till October next. The new rent is therefore £7940. per year. Surely this is such an additional proof of the enormous

sums gained by toll bar-farmers, as with the many reasons which I have given before, will induce all trustees of turnpike roads, to keep the toll bars in their own hands, and not let them; these men run away with the money which the trustees should apply to the reduction of the tolls, and pulling down all side and pick pocket bars, and reduce their tolls generally soon as possible, and let every traveller enjoy a fair proportion of the road in travelling for his money, and remove all the oppression which prevails upon turnpike roads, if possible.

There is one bar at the foot of Horbury-Bridge upon this road, which has been toll-free ever since it was set up for travellers from the Ossett and Netherton roads, because they do not travel one hundred yards upon the road, exclusive of the bridge, which bridge is repaired by the county or the travellers, consequently not considered a part of the road, till these bar-farmers took the road, who it appears have gained the above-mentioned £2860. per year. They have demanded toll at this bar of the Ossett and Netherton road travellers, who have been so long free; and tried it with the Ossett people, at the sessions, and before magistrates, till they have wearied them out, by trouble and expence, and they and all others submit to pay rather than have any more trouble or expence about it, with these bar-farmers.

There is another bar on the same road at the foot of Huddersfield-Bridge, close to the town, where they make travellers pay every time they go through; and I think no bar should be so near a town or village. These are two such enormities and proofs of oppression, as I hope will induce the trustees to remedy to the present age, and also to future ages, by removing these two bars at a proper distance from the bridges, to prevent these great and crying errors being committed in future, either from error, want of attention, or any other cause. And that this laudable and judicious example may operate and be followed by all other trustees throughout the nation; and no longer think, that because the tolls go out of the poor man's pocket by little and little, like salt, it is no oppression.



*Wakefield and Halifax Journal, 12th March, 1824.*

FRIDAY.

#### *Daring Robbery and Outrage.*

A most daring robbery was committed at the toll-bar house, Newton, near Wakefield, on Monday evening last. About half-past nine o'clock, a call of 'Gate' was heard, upon which the wife of Edward Ellis, the bar-keeper, opened the door of the house to go out. She was immediately knocked down by a blow on the face, and four men rushed into the house. One held her down upon the floor, while two of them dragged the husband out of bed, and beat him in a most barbarous manner, so as to endanger his life, though hopes are entertained that he may recover. They then rifled the house, taking away six silver tea-spoons and a pair of silver plated sugar tongs, a gold wedding ring and breast pin, a silver watch, maker's name, Trentham, Liverpool, about fifteen pounds in silver, ten of which were in half-crowns, two provincial five pound notes,

one of Barnsley bank, with several other provincial notes, making altogether nearly one hundred pounds, with which they immediately decamped, and we are sorry to say got clear off. Every exertion has been made to detect the villains, but this has not yet been effectual. Three Irishmen have been apprehended on suspicion, but no material evidence has been obtained against them, and they have been committed for further examination this day. A reward has been offered for the apprehension of the perpetrators of this dreadful outrage.

### *Caution to Toll-Collectors.*

On Friday last, the keeper of Westgate-Moor-Bar, on the road from Wakefield to Halifax, appeared before the Magistrates at the Court-House, Wakefield, pursuant to a summons against him for having charged a person leading coals from Whitley-Spring Colliery to Wakefield, ninepence instead of sixpence, for the toll of a one-horse cart. The Magistrates were pressed for a conviction in the penalty of £5, but the Lessees of the tolls on that road agreed to pay three guineas to the party complaining for the overcharges and his expences, which was reluctantly accepted, and there the matter terminated. *Ibid.*

As soon as a new set of bar-farmers have taken a road, they begin to spy out where they can set side or pick-pocket bars, and the trustees perhaps comply, these men having made them believe they have given too much, when they are proved to be making fortunes out of the poor travellers. I want to see all discord and oppression annihilated, and the old english fashion of generosity and hospitality restored on all occasions, and in every corner of the land, in which I hope I shall be joined with a hearty good will by all my countrymen, who remember or have read of the happiness which all ranks and degrees enjoyed forty years ago, and once more make ourselves the happiest nation in the world, which we may do with a turn of our hand, if we only heartily unite and join in the easy and pleasant work, for the good of our children and children's children.

Trustees of roads generally let the executing of their work upon diversions or new roads to strangers, who come from nobody knows where, who employ poor labouring men, who live near, to do the work, and often at less wages than they merit, or ought to have; and they give this contractor credit till he measures off the work, and when he has got the money, runs away with it and leaves the poor labourers unpaid. As we all know the labourer is worthy of his hire, and cannot afford to lose his labour, I beg leave to advise all trustees of roads and navigations, who contract with such wanderers as I have mentioned above, to see that the labouring men have their wages every Saturday night, or at least to see the contractor pay them all in the presence of their clerk, who pays him the money; in short, to have the labourers ready to receive it before he parts with it, to secure them of their wages for their work. For want of this caution, some of the contractors

upon the diversions from Horbury-Bridge to Grange Moor on this road, run away with the money which the poor labourers are starving for; and as this road is in a very prosperous state, I hope the trustees will think it their duty to make good this heavy loss to these poor labouring men.

Some road repairers appear troubled with short memories: in summer they appear to forget that winter will come, and neglect to lay the stone on and break them on one side of the road as they go on, in the summer season of long fine days, where they are to rest ready for the carriages when they want them, as they will not come upon them till they have occasion, but go on one side of the road where it is smooth without stones. But they never think of this till winter comes and reminds them, when the roads are become bad, then they begin in good earnest when the road is deep, wet, and dirty, in short days when they cannot do much above half as much as in summer, and labour through the winter in wet and dirt with bad roads, and finish this tedious work in March and April, the two months when the wind and sun would always repair them; and the stones laid on in March and April are worn in summer, when not wanted, which should have been put on in summer or October before, and been useful through the whole winter.

A common observer may witness this if he looks at some roads in the beginning of winter.

And farmers also become troubled with a loss of their memories when the weather has been long fine in harvest. The year 1824 produced, the most abundant crop these Islands ever did produce, and the finest harvest to the evening of the 2d of September that ever was seen, and one farmer at Netherton, about four miles west of Wakefield, finished leading his wheat that night, which, he said, was the greatest crop he ever had; and he is about eighty years of age. I know three others, all of whom had very dry wheat ready for leading that day, and much wheat that had been ready to cut a week or two, and yet remained uncut; it began to rain on the 3d of September, and it fell so heavy at night as to wet every sheaf through, beat the stacks down, and laid the corn to the ground. I think these are four of the best farmers in the kingdom. The three might have had all this corn cut and into the stack or barn on the 2d in the evening, and I am not willing to attribute this neglect, both to cutting and leading, to any cause but the loss of their memories, occasioned by this long season of fine weather. I say again, when your corn is dry get it by day or by night if you can, but do not get it before it is dry, and have to repent as these three good farmers will have to do this season.

After the heavy rain which is mentioned above, on Friday the 3d, Saturday and Sunday the 4th and 5th were remarkably fine with a very brisk wind, and one of them led some wheat on the Sunday. Monday was showery, but I know much dry corn was led that morning: one farmer, I am told, led eleven loads dry before it began to rain; the moon was at full and as light as day all Monday and Tuesday night, and Tuesday was one of the finest harvest days, perhaps, ever seen, with a very brisk wind, and they might have led all Monday and Tuesday night, as they did all day

on Tuesday, very dry Corn; it was fair till seven on Wednesday morning, when it began to rain, and continued as heavy a day's rain as I ever saw, and it appeared raining on Thursday morning at seven, and appeared to have been raining all night.

On this rainy Wednesday morning I set out at seven on a journey to Tadcaster, and called to pay my respects to a very agreeable and particular friend at Wakefield, two miles only from home, where I spent a most pleasant day during this heavy rain, and was glad to defer my journey, and returned home in the wind and rain at night, and on my way home I observed that each of the three above-mentioned farmers, who have been the especial cause of this appendix, had much corn out, and some to cut, which might have all been in the house or stack perfectly dry, if the fine weather had not a second time deprived them of their memories—many stacks blown down, sheaves laid upon the ground, and that which was to cut laid in all directions. I said to myself, if my Wheat had been in such a ripe state, and cut and dry so long, I would have hired stage waggons in Wakefield, or I would have had it into the house or stack by day or by night.

These three very remarkable losses of memory which have come within my own true observation, almost makes me proud that I have taken upon myself to teach farmers how to get their Corn and Hay in bad harvests, presuming that the advice may be of inestimable value to the present and future ages. I am not willing to attribute these three errors to any thing but the loss of memory, because they all three are advanced in years, and in pecuniary circumstances good enough, and I do hope the recording of them may be of inestimable value to the farmers.

I know another farmer, I think one of the best in the kingdom, who, when his corn is ready, delays no time, by day or by night, nor does he regard a little in wages, by which he always commands plenty of hands, gets his corn well, and by this vigilant rule, before his neighbours.

I now beg leave to ask these three good farmers, who I am confident will read this publication, if they were as careless about cultivating and tilling their land, and sowing their seed in due season, as they have been in getting the finest early crop that ever was seen (owing in a great measure to the bountiful July rains, which began before the middle of June, and continued to near the middle of July,) if they would merit the title of three of the best farmers in the kingdom. I hope this cap will fit them, and many others, this fine and most bonntiful season, and that they will put it on, and wear it so long as they live, as a memorandum that they may never be guilty of the same error again. Two of these farmers determined they would not lose their memories again, and Sunday the 12th of September proved a fine day and their corn very dry, they began to lead on that Sunday afternoon, led all night, and on Monday the 13th they finished this necessary work, which they should have finished on Thursday night the 2d of September, and would certainly have done if their memories had not failed.

Nothing is more necessary in farming, than getting the stacks thatched soon as made. Though this has perhaps been one of the finest harvests, yet the rain came

so heavy two separate days, as to wet some unthatched stacks almost from top to bottom, and made it necessary to take them down again to dry; and remember I have known it the same in many harvests past.

### *Cruelly to Dumb Animals.*

I have mentioned before, several coach horses which dropped down dead upon the road, and it is notorious, that many people have been killed, and misfortunes constantly happen by violent driving, in many parts of the kingdom, and more than any of us hear of; to remedy which, Mr. Martin's excellent, laudable, charitable, humane bill, to punish those who are cruel to dumb animals, does not appear to have the desired effect. And as it is universally admitted, that it is more laudable and efficacious to prevent, rather than punish crimes, I hope the legislature will make a law next session of Parliament, to forbid any coachman or any other person driving any carriage above eight miles per hour, or riding any horse upon the road above—miles per hour, under severe penalties or punishment, which would be an inestimable relief and comfort to all travellers, coach owners, coachmen, and many others. But above all to that noble, willing, generous, useful, docile, laborious, invaluable animal, the horse.

And here I beg leave to ask all cruel men and others, if we do not deserve severe punishment, or some heavy judgment from Heaven, for our unceasing cruelty to this noble animal. And how we should do without him? And why the Almighty gave us him, with such power over him? And why the same Almighty power doth not take him from us, for our never ceasing cruelty to him.

### **NEW LOCKS AT GOOLE, 1822.**

#### *The Aire and Calder Navigation New Canal, from Ferrybridge, or rather Knottingley, to Goole.*

It is known to our readers that a new line of navigation has been undertaken between the rivers Aire and Ouse, commencing at Ferrybridge, and entering the Ouse at Goole.—The first stone of the works at Goole, comprising a Ship Dock, 600 feet long, 200 feet wide, and 20 feet deep, to take in large merchant vessels; a Barge Dock, 900 feet long, 150 feet wide, and 8 feet deep, for small vessels, with ship and barge locks, to let them in and out from the river Ouse, was laid on Saturday the 28th ult., in the presence of Sir Edward Banks, of the firm of Jolliffe and Banks, the great contractors, and who have contracted for the execution of this undertaking; George Leather, Esq. the engineer: H. Henfrey, Esq. Colonel Creyke, of Rawcliffe-Hall; Thomas Egremont, Esq. of Redness-Hall; and many of the neighbouring gentry. Daniel Maud, Esq. one of the proprietors made a very impressive and appropriate address on the occasion, stating the advantages that would be derived by the public from the improved facility and

certainty with which goods from and to the interior part of the kingdom might be received and sent by this new route. The worthy proprietor further added, that it had frequently occurred that vessels were longer in making their passage from Goole to Selby than from London or Hamburg to Goole; and that by the new line of canal, nearly twenty miles would be saved in the passage to the interior of Yorkshire. These works, he said, would reflect additional credit on the abilities of their engineer; and at the conclusion of his address he made a very handsome donation to the many hundreds of workmen employed upon the said works, which they received with three hearty cheers for the success of the undertaking.

December 29th, 1821.

*A Practical Scheme for the reduction of the Public Debt and Taxation, without individual Sacrifice, by Jonathan Wilks, of Leeds.*

The above is the title of a pamphlet, published in this town during the present week, on that interesting subject, the alleviation of the national burthens. It was our intention to have offered some remarks upon it in our present paper, but, finding that the mere statement of Mr. Wilks' plan will occupy as much room as we can this week devote to the subject, we shall defer giving any opinion on its merits till our next publication.

Mr. Wilks begins by showing the absolute necessity of some change in our financial system. He states the prodigious amount of the national debt and of annual taxation, shows the weight laid thereby on every individual in the state, and particularly asserts that it is destroying our foreign commerce, which in nine cases out of ten is already becoming unprofitable. Mr. W. displays the utter inefficiency of the Chancellor of the Exchequer's plan to afford any important relief; if the sinking fund were to be raised, as proposed, to five millions, it would, in ten years of peace, only diminish the annual charge upon the people by £1,800,000. The probability of another war within that time is also stated, and it is urged that that may be a maritime war, in which case we shall be deprived of those commercial advantages which we enjoyed during the late prolonged contest. "It is in vain," says Mr. Wilks, "to trifl[e] any longer; we must, though reluctantly, assent to the appalling truth, either that the public debt must be wholly or in great part paid off, or this debt will plunge the nation into irretrievable confusion and misery."

Having established the necessity of some great exertion to free the nation from its encumbrance, Mr. Wilks lays down the following propositions as the objects of his plan:—

First. Such a reduction of the national debt and annual charge thereon, as shall render it henceforth a burthen of no baneful consequence, to a highly productive country like this.

Second. An immediate and considerable remission of duties and taxes, with a prospective remission in ten years, to the amount of nearly one half of our present taxation.

Third. A security against the effects of any future wars upon our public debt, by the appropriation of certain taxes, as war taxes only, equal to any efforts the country may be called upon to make.

Fourth. A recurrence to the principles of a free trade, so far as this may be proved advantageous to commerce, and to the general welfare of the state.

Fifth. The power of resuming *safely*, though gradually, a metallic currency; the fatal departure from which may be justly considered as one great cause of our present difficulties.

For the accomplishment of these objects, Mr. Wilks then proposes several parliamentary enactments to the following purport:—

First. That the sinking fund, as now constituted, do cease to form a part of the finance system of this country.

Second. That all the public annuities of a lower denomination, be consolidated into five per cent stock, at the following rates; three per cents at *sixty-five*; three and a half per cents at *seventy-three and a half*; four per cents at *eighty-one and a half*; the five per cents remaining at par of £100.

Third. That an assessment of twenty per cent shall be laid on all property in the public funds, so consolidated.

Fourth. That an assessment of five per cent shall be laid on all private property, not in the British funds; valuing all fixed property, except buildings at twenty years purchase, and all buildings at fifteen years purchase. This assessment to be converted into a redeemable income tax at the option of the proprietor, his property being security for the payment with interest, at five per cent per annum, from the date of assessment.

Fifth. That an assessment of five per cent be levied for the term of ten years only, upon all incomes not arising from property already assessed; such as income from foreign estates, incomes of professional men, artists, stipendiary clerks, and on all salaries above fifty pounds per annum.

Sixth. That a like assessment of five per cent for the term of ten years only, be levied upon all net profits of trade and agriculture.

The practical application and result of these enactments will be as follows:—

£.	
588,814,915, Three per cent annuities will be converted into five per cent stock at sixty-five, making .....	350,229,629
32,075,450, Three & a half per cent annuities, converted into five per cents at seventy-three and a half, making .....	23,625,455
75,514,727, Four per cent annuities converted into five per cents, at eighty-one and a half, making .....	61,544,502
148,575,487, Five per cent annuities, at par of £100 .....	148,575,487
	Making when consolidated into new national debt... { five per cent stock
794,980,479, Total nominal debt... {	583,975,073
	amount of .....
	The proposed assessment of twenty per cent upon this property, will make a reduction to the amount of .....
	116,795,014
	467,180,059

The private property not in the funds amounts, as will be shown hereafter, to two thousand four hundred millions, five per cent assessment on which will make a further reduction of ..... 120,000,000

Remain as a total of funded debt ..... 347,180,059

The interest of the debt, thus reduced to 350 millions, would be 17 millions and a half; to which are to be added the annual charge of long annuities and the interest of the unfunded debt, which swell the total charge on the debt to 20 millions and a half. Mr. W. estimates the whole expenditure of government to amount to 19 millions; and, with the addition of £3,200,000. for collecting the taxes, the total expenditure for the united kingdom would thus amount to £42,700,000.

This would be 19 millions less than the expenditure of the year ending April, 1820. To this saving are to be added the five per cent assessment upon incomes arising from property not already assessed, which is calculated to yield two millions annually for ten years: a like assessment on the profits of trade and agriculture for the same period, calculated to yield also two millions; and an estimated improvement in the revenue arising from the remission of taxes, &c. stated at £1,800,000. A total saving is thus produced of 25 millions; which would allow an immediate remission of taxes to the amount of 17 millions and a half, and leave seven millions and a half applicable to the further reduction of debt for ten years. After detailing these operations, Mr. W. proceeds—"The funded debt, at the conclusion of the ten years' assessment, will be virtually diminished to 275 millions of 5 per cent stock; because, though still nominally amounting to 375 millions, it will in reality be reduced to 100 millions, by an assessment to that amount remaining upon fixed property, and for which five millions will be annually paid to government as interest, until the capital assessment be redeemed."

Thus the interest upon the debt would be reduced to 17 millions, and it being calculated that the expenses of government would also be brought within 15 millions, Mr. Wilks comes to his grand conclusion—that, at the end of ten years, the whole expenditure of the state would be no more than 32 millions, about one-half its present amount.

It is impossible for us now to state the reasonings urged by Mr. Wilks to prove, that all those apparent sacrifices on the part of the fundholder, landholder, &c. involve no real sacrifice. We must reserve this explanation for another opportunity.

### National Debt.

When we say the debt has increased to nine hundred millions within a century, we are aware that it is an enormous sum, though we have no adequate conception of it; but when we say that during the last one hundred years the debt has (one minute with another, and allowing a person to be employed in counting it six hours daily, Sundays included) increased to such a degree, that it would require the whole century to count it, at the rate of above 60 guineas per minute! or, in other words, it

has increased at the rate of nearly seventeen guineas per minute (night and day) during the last one hundred years!—we see something of its real extent, and are astonished beyond measure at its fearful magnitude—Whitehaven Gazette.

### *The British Empire.*

The population of Great Britain, at the census in 1811, was 11,800,000, exclusive of the army and navy, then about 500,000. From the returns, so far as published under the present census, it appears, the increase is about 15 per cent. This will make the population of Great Britain at present to be 44,000,000 of souls. Ireland contains 6,500,000, making the population of the British dominions in Europe, 20,500,000. The population of our north American possessions cannot be less than 1,500,000; West India Colonies 900,000; Africa about 130,000; in the Mediterranean 150,000; colonies and dependencies in Asia 2,040,000; and in our extensive territories in the East Indies perhaps 70,000,000 of souls. The whole population of the British Empire will, at that rate, contain about 95,220,000 of souls. The Russian, the next highest in the scale of civilized nations, contains 50,000,000; France about 30,000,000; and Austria an equal number. The tonnage employed in the merchant service is about 2,640,000 tons for Great Britain; the exports £51,000,000 including 11,000,000 foreign and colonial;) and imports, £36,000,000. The navy, during the last war, consisted of 100 ships of war; the seamen at present in the merchant service are about 174,000; the gross revenue of the state £57,000,000. The capital of the empire contains 1,200,000 persons, the same number which Rome contained in the days of her greatest strength. The value of fixed or landed property in Great Britain, as calculated by Mr. Pitt, in 1797, was £1,600,00,000, and it may now be fairly taken at £2,000,000,000. The cotton manufactures of the country are immense, and reach, in the exports, to £20,000,000, nearly one-half of the whole. In short, taking every thing into consideration, the British Empire, in power and strength, may be stated as the greatest that ever existed on earth, as it far surpasses them all, in knowledge, moral character, and worth. On her dominions the sun never sets; before his evening rays leave the spires of Quebec, his morning beams have shone three hours on Port Jackson, and while sinking from the waters of Lake Superior, his eye opens upon the Mouth of the Ganges.

### *British Peerage.*

The number of Peers of Great Britain, independent of the Bishops, is exactly 500; of these, 56 have been ennobled as courtiers; 19 as younger branches of nobility; 39 as statesmen, 16 by diplomatic, 17 by naval, 57 by military, 39 by legal services; 39 by marriage, and 227 by the influence of wealth, &c. There are 92 bachelors, 64 widowers, and 341 who are married. Of the 408 married and widowers, 99 are without children;

and the remaining 309 have now living 755 sons and 703 daughters. The paternal descent of 156 peers can be traced to the conquest, or 11th century; that of 51 to the 12th century; 52 to the 13th. 35 to the 15th. 60 to the 16th. 59 to the 17th. and 3 to the 18th century; the genealogies of the remaining 49 cannot be traced with sufficient accuracy to warrant insertion. The ancestors of 78 of the peers, whose descent can be traced to the Conquest, were settled in England previous to that event; the other 78 came over with the Conqueror. Of the ancestors of the remainder, 31 have emigrated to this country since that period.

### *Dreadful Fire at Canton.—Thirteen Thousand Houses burnt.—1823.*

A most destructive fire began at Canton, on the night of the 2d November, at half-past nine o'clock, and continued till five on the morning of the 3d; it began on the city wall, and spread its fury along the westward of the beach. The whole of the East India Company and European factories were destroyed; the re-building will cost 13 millions dollars. The official return of houses burnt is 13,070, and 500 Chinese killed. The quantity of tea destroyed is 13,000 chests. The Company's loss is estimated at one million sterling. The loss of the natives and foreign traders was very great, but European private property comparatively small. The Company's treasure had been sent on board their own ships. It is supposed it would take thirty years to restore the place and trade to its former state, as the Hong merchants and native traders had lost considerably. Woollens, nankeens, and raw silks, were the principal articles burnt.

*Paris, Tuesday Evening, March 11.*—There is news from Madrid of a change in the Administration there. The new Ministry are of the party called Communeros (the most determined friends of the existing constitution.) Torrijos and Morel are two of the names sent us.

In the absence of any decisive intelligence on the question of peace or war, we must be content with giving the opinions of those who have at least the means of information. A French Ultra, of high rank, and in the service of the Royal Family, wrote to a British Nobleman to the following effect:—"Be assured we "cannot go to war; it is impossible; public opinion is "every where against us. That unhappy affair in the "Chamber, out of which no one has come with credit "except Manuel, has paralyzed us all."

In corroboration of this remark, we can state, that a despatch has been received from Sir Charles Stuart, from which Mr. Canuing has drawn the inference, "that the Counsels of the French Government are of "a suspensive nature.—Times.

### *Lord Stowell, late Sir John Scott.*

It is said that Lord Stowell, late Sir John Scott, has made purchases in land, to the amount of between two and three hundred thousand pounds, which now do not

produce him one per cent. profit This is perhaps very well; but only think of a subordinate Judge being able to make such purchases! Lord Ellenborough is said to have left half a million of money. What Lord Eldon is worth, he only knows. No wonder that such men are mighty sticklers for things as they are.

### *Sir William Jones and Thomas Day, Esq.*

One day, upon removing some books at the chambers of the former, a large spider dropped upon the floor, upon which Sir William, with some warmth, said, "kill that spider Day; kill that spider!" "No," said Mr. Day, with that coolness for which he was so conspicuous, "I will not kill that spider, Jones; I do not know that I have a right to kill that spider! Suppose when you are going in your coach to Westminster-Hall, a Superior being, who perhaps, may have as much power over you, as you have over this insect, should say to his companion. "kill that lawyer: kill that lawyer!" How should you like that, Jones? and I am sure, to most people, a lawyer is a more noxious animal than a spider."

### *Law.*

To him that goes to law nine things are requisite:—  
1. A good deal of money.—2. A good deal of patience.—3. A good cause.—4. A good attorney.—5. Good counsel.—6. Good evidence.—7. A good jury.—8. A good judge—and lastly, good luck.

The following curious extract is from the will of Wm. Blackett, Esq. late Governor of Plymouth, proved in the year 1782:—"I desire that my body may be kept as long as it may not be offensive, and that one or more of my toes or fingers may be cut off to secure a certainty of my being dead; I also make this further request to my dear wife, that as she has been troubled with an old fool, she will not think of marrying a second."—Exeter Gazette.

### *Humble Origin of distinguished Characters, being an Answer to the Cant about Bergami.*

*Lord Chancellor*—The son of an Overseer of Coal Works at Newcastle.

*The Vice Chancellor*—A menial servant in the family of the late Sir Robert Taylor, at the house now occupied by Dr. Malon, in Spring Gardens.

*Chief-Judge of the King's Bench*—Son of a Barber at Canterbury.

*Inventory of Property, belonging to the Inquisition, offered for the Public Sale on account of the Treasury, in order to be applied to the liquidation of the Public Debt.*

- Lot 1. Several very extensive barracks.
- 2. A bill of pains and penalties.

Lot 3. The income tax.  
 4. A few gagging bills.  
 5. A great variety of ex-officio informations.  
 6. The deditmuses of a few stipendiary magistrates.  
 7. An assortment of spies of all ranks.  
 8. Some foreign witnesses.  
 9. Green bags, much damaged; the contents quite worthless.—Old bags to be sold.  
 10. A holy alliance.  
 11. Sundries.—The pension lists—Secret service money—Indemnity bills—Files of the treasury journals, with various tools of office.  
 12. Circulars, by Lord Sidmouth, Prince Metternich, &c. &c.  
 13. A large lot of Secretaries, Commissioners, Ambassadors, Junior Lords, and Sinecurists.  
 14. Some infallible rat traps, and a monstrous Vice, &c. &c.  
 N. B. To be knocked down without mercy, and for ready money only—there's no trust in things of this sort!

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### Slander.

Fielding has given the following admirable character of dealers in calumny, and we insert it from the just estimate it contains of that wicked and detestable system, which has so fatally prevailed of late in works like *Blackwood*, the *John Bull*, the *Beacon*, and the *Sentinel*:—“Vice hath not,” says he, “a more abject slave; “society produces not a more odious vermin; nor can “the devil receive a guest more worthy of him, nor “possibly more welcome to him, than a *slanderer*. The “world, I am afraid, regards not this monster with half “the abhorrence which he deserves; and I am more “afraid to assign the cause of this criminal lenity shown “towards him; yet it is certain that the thief looks in- “nocent in the comparison; nay the murderer himself “can seldom stand in competition with his guilt; for “slander is a more cruel weapon than the sword, as the “wounds which the former gives are always incurable. “One method, indeed, there is of killing, and that the “basest and most execrable of all, which bears an exact “analogy to the vice here declaimed against, and that “is poison:—a means of revenge so base, and yet so “horrible, that is was once wisely distinguished by our “laws from all other murderers, in the peculiar severity “of the punishment.”

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— January, 1822.

### EARL FITZWILLIAM.

We have to record one of the noblest acts of liberal landlords that has yet come to our knowledge.—On Wednesday the 9th Instant, EARL FITZWILLIAM assembled his tenantry occupying farms under his Lordship at Milton House, where they had been previously requested to give their attendance, by a circular from his Lordship's steward, William Simpson, Esq. The noble Earl received his numerous tenantry in the great hall; after each was seated, his Lordship informed them that

he had taken into his most serious consideration their situation as farmers in the present state of the times: by an amicable communication which he had with some of his tenants who had kept a regular account of the outgoings and expenses of their farms, and which accounts his Lordship had investigated, it was clear that a *reduction of rent was necessary*—for he was quite satisfied in his own mind, that the reduced price of the produce of the land was now permanently established; since our return to payments in sovereigns and shillings, and he did not wish to hold out any delusions that corn would fetch a better price: he was satisfied in his own mind that it could not: it might fluctuate a little according to seasons, but in no material degree; and his Lordship was of opinion, that any alteration in the corn laws could not possibly have the effect of raising the price of the produce of the land—he did not mean to hold out any such hopes—he had therefore reduced his rents under an impression that the average of corn in the years 1792, 94, and 95, was about the standard at which we might expect it to keep.

His Lordship stated further, that each tenant should stop and dine, and that they would find a sealed note directed for each in his seat, stating the rent he had fixed upon their respective farms—and with which he hoped the tenant would be satisfied: His Lordship considered that the connexion between landlord and tenant was their mutual and common interest; he was aware that the tenants had embarked considerable capitals, which they must necessarily do to enable them to occupy their farms properly, and it was but fair they should be remunerated both for their capital and their trouble.

His Lordship then strongly recommended that the labourer should have fair and sufficient wages to enable him to live—to live well, and support his family; without going to the parish for relief to make up a deficiency of the wages which he ought to have; for, in his Lordship's opinion, nothing tended more to lessen the labourer in his own esteem as a man, than being obliged to apply for parochial relief: it spoiled him as a labourer, by destroying the proper pride which a man felt in supporting himself by his own honest exertions.

We understand, from undoubted authority, that the reduction that has taken place is from 35 to 45 per cent. including 15 per cent. which his Lordship took off in 1816.

At the hospitable mansion an excellent dinner was provided for the tenants on this interesting occasion, and upwards of 80 sat down to dinner. Lord Milton presided, and addressed the tenants in a most eloquent speech, in which he enlarged upon the subject which his noble father had so agreeably opened. Many excellent toasts and sentiments were drunk, several songs were sung, and the harmony was kept up at Milton House till late on Thursday morning.—*Stamford Mercury.*

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### Reduction of Rents in Ireland.

We hear that several noblemen and gentlemen of the county of Tipperary, following the example of the Earl Fitzwilliam, are determined to make considerable reductions in their rents:—The Earl of Donoughmore, Lord

Landaff, Lord Dunatty, Lord Norbury, Colonel Bogg-well, Mr. Holmes, and Mr. Vaughan, have taken the lead, and we trust the example will be followed by the other landed proprietors of the South of Ireland.

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### *The Lines of a Good Judge.*

This is an extract from Lord Bacon's speech in the Common Pleas to Sir Richard Hutton, when he was called to be one of the Judges of that court, Mar. 3, 1617, 14 Jac. I.:—

"1. A Judge, in maintaining the laws of the realm, should be rather heart-strong than head-strong."

"2. He should draw his learning out of his books—not out of his brain."

"3. He should mix well the freedom of his own opinion, with the reverence of the opinion of his fellows."

"4. He should fear no man's face, and yet not turn stoutness into bravery."

"5. He should be truly impartial, and not so as men may see affection through fine carriage."

"6. He should be a light to Jurors, to open their eyes, but not a guide to lead them by the nose."

"7. He should not affect the opinion of pregnancy and expedition, by an impatient and catching hearing of Counsellors at the Bar."

"8. He should speak with gravity, as one of the sages of the law; and not be talkative, nor with impertinent plying out, to shew learning."

"9. His hands, and the hands of those about him, should be clean, and uncorrupt with gifts, from meddling in titles, and from serving of turns, be they of great ones or small ones."

"10. He should contain the jurisdiction of the court, within the ancient meet stones, without removing the mark."

*Leeds Mercury, Oct. 26, 1822.*

### *The greatness of Spain two Centuries ago.*

Of all the subjects that are likely to engage the attention of the Congress at Verona, by far the most interesting and important is—the affairs of Spain. It is notoriously the wish of a large party in the French Government, as well as of the friends to arbitrary power throughout Europe, that the Holy Alliance should take advantage of the present state of Spain, to invade that kingdom with a powerful force, overturn its free constitution, re-establish its dislodged monks in their seats of idleness, and replace its limited Monarch on his throne of despotism. What many desire the Congress to do, several foreign papers have asserted that they will do. We have already stated our opinion, that the Sovereigns will not venture on the course thus marked out for them. But while it is yet possible that such may be their conduct, and while a civil contest still rages within the Spanish territory, the inquiry is eminently interesting—how are that people prepared to resist a foreign invasion, and to quell their internal foes? Two reports, of the financial and military affairs of the kingdom, have recently been presented to the Cortes by the ministers

of finance and of war. And, while perusing these documents, which show the military and fiscal affairs of the government to be anything but satisfactory, what friend to liberty can restrain his feelings of indignation, on perceiving to how low a state of depression the baleful spirit of despotism has reduced a nation, which, little more than two centuries ago, was not only the most powerful and the wealthiest in Europe, arts, manufactures, and commerce, the bravest soldiers, but the most enlightened and most free,—which possessed the finest navy, the richest and most extensive colonies—in short, nearly every object of national ambition and desire? Unhappily for Spain, the spirit of freedom slumbered in the lap of luxury; the locks of her strength were shorn by insidious foes; she was bound in the fetters of superstition and tyranny; and she consequently and inevitably became, in her state of decay and destitution, a laughing-stock to those enemies of whom she once was the terror.

We have now to view Spain in this lamentable condition; for, though she has happily burst her ignominious chains, she has not yet been able to renovate her vigour. All her vast colonies are lost, and she can never receive another ingot from the mines of Mexico or Peru: of manufactures too she is nearly destitute; and her commerce scarcely extends beyond the disposable produce of her soil. From these circumstances, and from the encouragement given to contraband trade by unwise commercial restrictions, the revenue of Spain is at present far from answering the expenses of her government. This evil is said in the report to be aggravated by the negligence of the tax-collectors, who have been worked upon by the machinations of foreign and domestic enemies; the disturbances in the provinces bordering on France also necessarily diminish the receipts, and add to the expenditure, of government. In this emergency, the finance minister proposes to raise a loan, a measure, which, if sanctioned by the Cortes, will put to the test the credit of the Spanish government.—We hope it will be found that that credit is good, and that—notwithstanding the insurrections in the north—the real strength of the nation, its latent resources, and the good faith of its representatives, deserve to be relied upon. We have the stronger hopes of the extrication of Spain out of her present embarrassments, from the candour and explicitness with which they are laid before the Cortes and the nation: the whole extent of the evil is displayed, and it is believed that patriotism, stimulated by the confidence reposed in it, will provide the remedy. I have published this as a warning voice to the good people of this mighty empire.

*Oct. 7, 1820.*

### *Commemoration Dinner of the Revolution of Spain, Naples, and Portugal.*

The dinner in commemoration of the triumph of civil liberty in Spain, Naples, and Portugal, took place on Monday at the Crown and Anchor Tavern, London. The chair was taken by Sir Robert Wilson precisely at half past six o'clock; the chair was supported by Major Cartwright, Mr. Alderman Wood, Mr. Bennet, Mr.

Hobhouse, Mr. Hume, Sir Gerard Noel, &c. &c. The number present must have amounted to 400 at least. Letters were read from the Duke of Bedford and Sir F. Burdett, excusing their absence on account of illness.

After the cloth was removed, Sir R. Wilson proposed, "The King, and may he never forget the principles which seated his family on the throne of these realms." He next proposed—"The Queen, (Loud applause) and may she have innocence for her shield, truth for her spear, and the affections of the people for her guard." (Loud and long continued applause.) The next toast was—"The People—the source of all authority, and the welfare, the end, and object of all governments."

Sir R. Wilson then stated that it was his duty to call their attention to the immediate object of the meeting. The events which they were assembled to commemorate, though they had occurred in different countries, and at different intervals of time, were yet so blended and amalgamated in their nature, as to become with propriety the subject of one common festival. It would be unnatural if the people of England were not to feel a sympathy with the late exertions in the Peninsula and Naples, and not to feel an interest in the successful consummation with which they had been crowned. They would, indeed, show themselves destitute of their accustomed generosity and benevolence, if they were to contemplate unmoved the triumph of so many millions, previously destitute of that freedom, to which they themselves so justly attached so much value; if they were not to hail the establishment of a constitutional system in every other country—a system which was not only essential to the well-being of the natives, but an additional safeguard to our own liberties. (Applause.) That day was gone by when government could persuade us that our happiness and safety depended upon the degradation of neighbouring states, (Applause) and in perpetuating servitude wherever it existed, instead of endeavouring to diffuse the light of knowledge in the principles of civil liberty. He knew that there still existed amongst us men who were the advocates of such doctrines—men who thought the world was not made to be used, but to be abused by them; who did not think of what was for the general interest of the community, but of what was for the interest of themselves, and those who, like themselves, existed on the spoils of the people. The flag of freedom was now flying on the ruins of despotism in the Peninsula, and in Naples, and it was not to be wondered at that those who resisted the redress of all wrongs at home, should tremble when they heard of rights recovered by other nations. (Applause.) But he thanked God that the number of these men was diminished, and their power was daily declining. He trusted, that whatever might be the illiberal policy of the government, the people of Europe would be convinced by that meeting that the people of England were ready to embrace the free of all countries, and of all climes. They all recollect the events which preceded the Spanish revolution—they all recollect the transports of this country, when the people of Spain resisted a foreign yoke, and when they had determined to restore that constitution, which a succession of usurpation had almost annihilated. The brave Spaniards hoped, that having by their valour restored their Sovereign to his

throne, that Sovereign would ratify their acts; but those hopes were disappointed. The King, under the influence of evil counsellors, resolved to march against the assembled representatives of the nation. Would to God it was in his power to say that the funds of corruption had not been aided by British treasures: a corrupted soldiery had marched on the representatives of their country, and enabled despotism again to re-establish itself. He did not wish to tear off that veil which the generous Spanish nation was anxious to throw over the conduct of that person who filled their throne. Applause. The gallant General briefly alluded to the sufferings under the despotism which had been overturned. The blood of martyred patriots, he said, had been the seals of liberty, and two men, whose names would be immortalized in history, Quiroga and Riego, animated by patriotism, and assisted by fortune, achieved at last the deliverance of their countrymen. The gallant General then went on to reprobate the conduct of the Emperor of Russia, whom he, if any one, had a right to war against a course of harshness and temerity. The note which he had issued called on the Spanish government to immolate its generous soldiery on the altar of legitimacy—(Applause)—called on it to re-establish the ancient government—to re-establish the inquisition—to re-establish torture—to fill the dungeons of Africa once more with illustrious victims—and then when it had disarmed the country, and destroyed its liberties, then he would be graciously pleased to forgive, if he could not forget the past, and to enter into relations of amity with Spain. But this right assumed by the Emperor of Russia to protect the European social order was a mere mockery in the head of a Scythian government. (Applause.) Was it a representative government which held this language? On the contrary, it was a government so familiar with violence, that it ordinarily decided the succession to the throne. Applause. Was it a right of retaliation which he here wished to enforce? Did Europe ever call on Alexander to rescind the acts by which he was enabled to ascend the throne? No. Whatever the opinion of Europe might be with regard to these transactions, no nation ever demanded from Alexander any such account. If, however, the Holy Alliance presumed to commit acts of aggression against Spain, the Cortes might make an appeal to the courage of their fellow citizens, to God, and to the justice of their cause, and they would have no reason to be afraid of the issue. For himself, he would rather carry a musket in the cause of freedom, than a Marshal's staff in the ranks of their enemies. (Applause.) The gallant General then alluded to the revolution in Naples, which he designated as just and necessary, while he stigmatized the threats of the Austrian government, which in point of civilization was 250 years behind its neighbours, as impious and pernicious. He warned Austria against marching into Naples, when she might kindle a devouring flame behind her in her own dominions. He afterwards briefly alluded to Portugal, and concluded by reading a declaration, which he proposed to the meeting as the expression of their sentiments on the subject which they were met to celebrate, and which was unanimously adopted.

Major Cartwright proposed as a toast "the Spanish

Cortes," which he was ashamed to say surpassed the English parliament in its adaptation to the purposes of freedom. The Chairman proposed the health of Sir. F. Burdett: Mr. Bennett proposed as a toast—"Generals Quiroga and Riego, and their gallant comrades, the deliverers of their country." Sir Gerard Noel—"Success to Naples and Sicily in the amicable adjustment of their future relationship, and in consolidating their freedom." Mr. Hume—"Success to Portugal, and may efforts replace her with dignity on the roll of free nations." Mr. Hobhouse, after an eloquent speech—"La Fayette, and the brave and enlightened champions of freedom in France." Mr. Alderman Wood—"Old England." The Rev. Mr. Hayes, an Irish Catholic Priest, also spoke at some length, in praise of the Spanish revolution, and in recommendation of the emancipation of the Irish Catholics.

All the toasts were drunk with great enthusiasm and applause; and at about half-past eleven, after an excellent meeting, and in the best humour, the assembly separated.

#### *Ireland,—from the Leeds Mercury.*

Ireland has long been the reproach of this country: that part of the United Kingdom, which possesses in itself every natural advantage that can render a people prosperous and happy, has been for centuries the scene of misrule and of civil and religious discord, and a theatre for the perpetration of crimes the most revolting to humanity. This unhappy state of things must arise from some deep-seated cause, and must be the result of some gross error, some radical defect in our treatment of that country. The discovery and removal of these errors and defects is one of the most interesting problems that can exercise the skill and ingenuity of our legislators and politicians. Without presuming to point out any specific remedy for the complicated evils that affect Ireland, we are justified, by long experience of the past, in asserting that this remedy will not be found in military coercion—the usual resource of impatient and shortsighted statesmen. We must rather look into the moral state of the country, dissipate its ignorance by education, and subdue its turbulence by finding beneficial employment for its idle and discontented population. The gibbet and the sword may destroy individual criminals, but they leave undiminished the great body of crime, and unimpaired the prolific source from which it springs. It is a subject which will require, and we trust will obtain, the early and anxious attention of parliament.

March 8, 1823.

#### IRELAND.

The debate on Mr. Hume's motion for a committee on the church revenues in Ireland is a fair specimen of a large class of debates, which have already taken place and will occur in future, on propositions for the important reforms. The arguments on the two sides do not meet each other: it is not a conflict, but a balance, of reasons: the debators move, not towards each other, for

the purpose of fighting, but in parallel lines, each striving to draw out his forces in the longest array. Mr. Hume made out a very strong case, by showing the preposterous arrangements and abusive practices in the Irish church, and on the ground of this exposition demanded a reform. Messrs. Goulburn, Peel, and Plunkett do not deny the statements, or at least disprove the necessity of reformation; they content themselves with alleging its danger, and asserting that parliament has no more right to interfere with church property than with the property of private individuals. With respect to the first objection, we readily admit that no great political change can ever be made without some share of danger. But we contend there is much greater danger in allowing notorious abuses, especially when they are of a nature to oppress and irritate the people, to continue without remedy; because their tendency is to grow more and more intolerable, till they at length provoke some violent popular explosion, infinitely more hazardous to the state than an early attempt at reformation. It is a prominent article of our political creed, and one of which all history affords illustration, that timely reform is the surest preventative of revolution. We do not advocate rash, violent, or ill-digested reforms, but reforms begun early, pursued moderately and steadily, and with an honest view to the public advantage. The violence of party spirit is a great enemy to such reformation, and seems likely to obstruct many well meant and well directed attempts to improve the condition of Ireland. With respect to the second objection urged against Mr. Hume's motion—that the legislature has no right to interfere with the revenues of the church, we shall meet it by expressing a directly opposite opinion. We admit that the property of the church of England and Ireland has long been in its possession, and is secured to it by law; and, further, that the present possessors have a clear right to its enjoyment for their several lives. But we contend that the church is to be viewed as a great public corporation; that all its property is public property, vested in it for public purposes; and that both the corporation and the property are ever liable to be regulated by the legislature, according as the interests of the people may require. There is a most essential difference in the principles on which private property and church property rest. The former is secured to its possessor in full and complete right, is intended for his own enjoyment without any reference to the nation at large, and is committed to his sole management. The latter is secured to the church, not for the particular enjoyment of any existing number of prelates and clergy, but with a direct and manifest reference to the public benefit: it is given in return for a public service; it never assumes the form of private property, since its possessor can neither alienate nor bequeath it; but exists from age to age, for the support of successive public functionaries. Who, then, is to judge of the service of a religious nature required by the public, and of the proper compensation for its performance? The employed or the employers? The church or the legislature?

It seems to us to be as clearly the duty of the government to superintend the religious, as the civil, military, or naval functionaries of the state. In principle there is no difference. It is obvious, however, that when once

an establishment is formed, it should have the appearance of stability, and no changes should be made in it without very sufficient cause. But in admitting the inexpediency of frequently interfering with the concerns of the church, we must still contend that it is both the right and the duty of the legislature to reform abuses so enormous as those existing in the church of Ireland. We see there a lavish expenditure of public money, without any adequate return of service; a large portion of public lands neglected; a numerous body of prelates and clergy, receiving immense, though most unequal, salaries, of whom many perform no duty, but reside in distant seats of luxury; and a people ground to the earth by various exactions, amongst which that is the most vexatious which goes to support a clergy whom they do not and will not hear. How different is the state of things in Scotland! And why should not a system so oppressive, useless, extravagant, and absurd be in some degree assimilated to one universally allowed to be pure, effective, and economical: In Scotland, the church consists of fifteen hundred thousand persons, and the Ministers receive £6,360*l.* In Ireland, the church consists of four or five hundred thousand persons, and the clergy receive £,300,000*l.* Are the Scotch or the Irish clergy more respectable? Are the Scotch or the Irish people better taught? If the representatives of the people can look at this contrast, and yet refuse to adopt the measures which a mere contemplation of it instantly suggests, we know not how they can with propriety consider themselves as the guardians of the national purse and national interests.

### Pope, on Death.

Vital spark of heav'nly flame,  
Quit, oh! quit this mortal frame!  
Trembling, hoping, ling'ring, flying,  
Oh! the pain, the bliss of dying!  
Cease, fond nature, cease thy strife,  
Let me languish into life.  
Hark! they whisper; angels say,  
Sister spirit—come—away—  
What is this absorbs me quite,  
Steals my senses, shuts my sight,  
Drowns my spirit, draws my breath,  
Tell me, my soul, can this be death?  
The world recedes, it disappears!  
Heav'n opens on my eyes! my ears  
With sounds seraphic ring!  
Lend, lend your wings! I mount! I fly!  
O Grave, where is thy victory?  
O Death, where is thy sting?

### Duelling.

Two of the greatest and most favorite Generals of Frederic the Great of Prussia, either of which he was afraid of losing, quarrelled and challenged each other to fight a duel; the King heard of the place of meeting, and ordered a gallows to be erected ready at the spot,

and attended himself. When the combatants came, they asked the King what it was for, he answered, you two are going to fight, and which ever of the two fails, the survivor shall be hanged upon the spot the moment the battle is over, by virtue of my authority to punish murderers. This judicious resolution of the King preserved both their valuable lives, restored peace, and they parted friends.

While we censure the practice of duelling as barbarous, due regard ought to be had to the unfortunate situation of the gentlemen of the army in this respect. He that refuses a challenge is disgraced for ever; no brother officer in his regiment will keep company with him, nor if he quits his regiment and enters another, will he be otherwise received. It is true, that the nineteenth article of war is expressly against this, but every man in the army is convinced that this article, as to its operation, is absolutely null and void.

The article of war we allude to, runs in the following words:—

“Nor shall any officer or soldier upbraid another for refusing a challenge; since, according to these our orders, they do but the duty of soldiers, who ought to subject themselves to discipline; and we do acquit and discharge all men who have quarrels offered, or challenges sent to them, of all disgrace or opinion of disadvantage in their obedience hereunto; and whoever shall upbraid them, or offend in this case, shall be punished as a challenger.”

You ask me to describe what I mean by solid comfort?

I answer a quiet conscience, health, liberty, our time, our own, or if not, usefully and innocently, and moderately employed by others; a freedom from inordinate passions of all kinds, a habit of living within ones income, and of saving something for extraordinary occasions, an ability arising from rational economy, to defray all necessary and expedient expences; a habit of good humour, and aptitude to be pleased rather than offended; a preparation for adversity, love of ones family, sincerity to friends, benevolence to mankind, and piety to God.

Compare this state, and these dispositions with those of affected people of fashion, embarrassed in circumstances, distressed by vain cares, tossed about by various passions and vain fancies, without any anchor to keep their frail bark from the violence of every guest.

But it is not worth while to dilate on the comparison; let the hearts of the deluded votaries of vanity decide in the silence of the night season; when they recline on their pillows, when the lights of the assembly are extinguished, and when the rattling of carriages are no more heard.

If doom'd I am to bear afflictions smart,  
And grieves keen arrows in my bleeding heart;  
Still may I bless the author of my pains,  
Convinced in all his dealings mercy reigns.

ELIZABETH MILNES.

An excellent observation I somewhere met with, worthy to be committed to memory—viz:

That the remembrance of disagreeable circumstances was only painful, without answering any good purpose.

The only good that can arise from a recapitulation of wrongs or sufferings, is to be wise, and guard to the utmost of our power, against their future attacks.

There are three of the ugliest, blackest, most frightful, outlandish wild beasts of all colours got amongst us from abroad, never know here till a great man brought a few of them over as curiosities. They are exotics, amphibious, seldom to be seen but felt in every corner of the land, and breed like rabbits every where; some of these animals get in at the key hole and into bed to men and their wives, and will not let them sleep, and visit the houses of high and low. I met a man one day that knows their native land, and asked if he could tell what they call them, he said they call them tyranny, oppression, and poverty. I have heard that tyranny got into Wentworth House some time since, and I never heard whether they had got him out or not.

### *Tyranny, Oppression, Poverty, the Spy System, the Cause of all Revolutions.*

Never did any Nation in the World presume to find fault with its government, or incline to rebel, till the governors had proceeded to oppress and invade the constitution, the laws, and rights of the people, or that it was a government of oppression and tyranny. This is an indisputable fact which proves, that the governors are the invaders of the people's rights, long before they complain, and endeavour to defend their rights or redress their grievances. Was not this the case in France and Spain, and other countries; and did not they wear chains, misery and poverty, long before the revolutions, and is it not the case there at present, and all over Europe. Then why do——writers calumniate a just and faithful people for humbly complaining, when the calumny and censure is in reality due to the governors, and if they would redress their grievances, all would be well and happy. But instead of doing that their duty, they always harden the cords of oppression as they weakly fancy, to silence, or keep the people quite, by which they increase their complaints; then they proceed to call those humble and grievous complaints seditious and rebellious, when the sedition and rebellion is on the part of the governors, against the laws and people's rights, which generates them six dire enemies to all nations—bribery, corruption, luxury, tyranny, oppression, and poverty, and in process of time a battle breaks out between these six tyrants, and the people, and in the broil, they annihilate the funds of their country, and reduce thousands upon thousands from competency or affluence, to poverty and misery. I think the French, Spanish, and other revolutions are a true picture and confirmation of all this, which many of us remember, and those who do not may learn it from history.

But there is one stubborn fact which I wish to impress upon the minds of my country women and men, that if Bonaparte had invaded England, which he would soon

have done if he could have got the English fleet out of the channel. The above mentioned six dire enemies had provoked the people of England to such an extreme of desperation, that they would have joined Bonaparte, for they were so much oppressed, they were ready to proceed to any act of violence and desperation, for none could get bread enough, and many died for want of it. And how often have women and men said, we had better be killed than pined to death. But did not our people bear that state of poverty with wonderful patience, because government allowed speculation, to raise the price of corn above their reach, which was the cause of the high rents, which must be reduced, to keep provisions and labour moderate, or else we cannot long meet other nations at market with our manufactures on equal terms, and when we lose the power of doing that, our ruin will soon follow, and speculation should never be permitted to raise corn to such an extreme, unless it be desirable, to bring confusion and misery upon a nation, for it always appeared there was plenty of corn for money, but speculation concealed it, and made it appear otherwise. And I here repeat, that the high price of corn is the root and source of all the great evils which come to all nations, and which it should be their study and endeavour to prevent at all times.

If such a broil had happened in England as happened in France, our funds would have fallen to nothing, as they did in France and other nations; and incalculable numbers would have fallen from competency or affluence, to poverty and misery, over and above the grief and mourning that would have happened for the loss of those parents, husbands, and others, who would have fallen in the battle or otherwise in the confusion.

Our revolutionary and American wars were caused by the above mentioned six dire enemies, and the folly, weakness, and improvidence of government, and the want of a reformed parliament, who would have watched, promoted, and protected the safety, happiness, and welfare of our county, and prevented them great calamities.

We have to thank the Almighty, Bonaparte's ambition, and the elements for our preservation. But we still have the mill stone, the national debt about our necks, the unbearable rents and taxes, and the above mentioned six dire enemies, raging with more fury than ever was known.

Surely this Warning Voice is dictated to me by the supreme Being, to advise the people to prepare and guard against the misery which may come by the folly, weakness, and extravagance of government, for want of a reformed parliament and due attention of the people; and a reformation in all ranks of society, to teach them on all occasions to slacken the cords of oppression, whatever their rank may be, which can only be done by the example of the clergy and superiors, and by uniting cordially and firmly, them two helps meet to each other, and all the world, true religion and liberty, which are the only security against the calamities described above.

What occasion have——for hiring newspapers to defend their conduct, if it be good, none I venture to say, for the whole nation would be their advocates, friends, adherents, and lovers, if their deeds were not evil.

Did not Baron Graham confess, in his famous speech to the new and old Lord Mayors of London, that the

end of all governments, is to secure to every one, even to the lowest, that property which is his own, and also the constitution of his country, and all his lawful rights; then is it not a great crime in governors, who invade the people's rights, whose rights they are in duty bound to protect and keep secure. A confirmation of the above, will be found in his Royal Highness the Duke of Sussex's speech to the Lord Mayor and corporation of York.

Surely the spy system was the most infamous outrageous conduct that ever disgraced a country; it was a disgrace, insult, and provocation to a brave, loyal, generous, and enlightened people, to attempt to make them and the world believe, that a conspiracy was formed to assassinate——when no such conspiracy ever existed, but what was contrived, instigated, and abetted by themselves. How many innocent victims have fallen to the machinations of these men, and how many widows and orphans are involved in misery thereby, will appear at the awful day of judgment. However they may repose in their present security of power, and defy any earthly tribunal to bring them to judgment; I warn them to prepare for that heavenly judge, before whom they soon have to appear.

In a word.—The spy system.—The treatment of the brave Sir Robert Wilson, and Earl Fitzwilliam.—The Irish union.—The Congress at Verona.—The neglect of our commercial and mercantile interests.—The Holy Alliance.—The neglect of our protecting Spain from falling into the hands of that Alliance, which we might have done by words, without taking up gun or sword. The approval and defence of the butchery at Manchester.—And finally, the six acts will form a tomb over the abettors of these measures, and their neglect of duty, of a far less perishable nature than brass or marble.

Does not the present miserable state of Europe, exhibit a true picture of the miseries that are coming upon this country gradually, and as it were imperceptibly, though at times by hasty and great steps, all for want of a reformation in parliament.

*Leeds Mercury, Oct. 12, 1822.*

### *Ireland, on the Tithe System.*

The renewal of that insubordination, and those outrages, which last winter excited our mingled pity and indignation, imposes upon us the necessity of again directing the attention of our readers to that most painful of all subjects—the actual state of the sister kingdom. Within the last fortnight, accounts have been received of enormities perpetrated in Ireland, nearly equal in point of atrocity to the worst of those which have disgraced her long and melancholy history. "But two poor months—nay not so much, not two"—have passed, since we were called on to lament the ravages of a desolating famine! That famine was preceded by outrages similar to those which we are this week obliged to lament and condemn; and, indeed, whoever looks through the history of Ireland will perceive that her miseries have been wont to revolve in a kind of melancholy cycle, the

laws of which are likely soon to be so well understood, that the political astronomer will be able to predict with confidence the period, in which any given species of calamity may be expected to recur.

No man, we believe, pretends now to deny, that Ireland is the victim of misgovernment, and few will doubt, that many of her most crying grievances might be redressed by the adoption of a generous and energetic policy on the part of the British ministry. Much more difficulty has been expressed as to the time at which relief should be administered; many patriotic and able persons having questioned the propriety of any thing like concession, so long as the spirit of insubordination shall exist. We fear, however, that if the Irish are not to be relieved from their manifold grievances, till they cease to express impatience under the burden, the day of redress will never arrive; and we are moreover at a loss to understand, upon what principle of good policy or sound sense the governors of Ireland can derive an excuse for the continuance of oppression and misrule, from the existence of that spirit, which, by the laws of our nature, oppression and misrule are sure to excite and to perpetuate. Of course we do not address this or any other argument to those partisans of a narrow-minded and temporising administration, who declare in effect, that no time is proper for the relief of Ireland; who maintain, when she is in a state of insurgency, that she deserves no relief, and when she subsides into tranquillity, that she requires none.

The last number of the Edinburgh Review contains an able and temperate article upon this very subject; an article which is particularly valuable, not so much on account of the eloquent and pathetic description it affords of Irish misery, as for its accurate and extensive summary of facts. We apprehend that a portion of this departure of our paper cannot be more appropriately occupied, than by a short abstract of this very able dissertation.

Among the leading causes of Irish discontent, the Reviewer places the want of a complete Catholic Emancipation. He shows, in the first place, the galling nature of the present restrictions; and, in the second, the absurdity of retaining them, after so many others of so much greater importance have been already relinquished. The Catholics, however—that is to say, five-sixths of the population of Ireland—do not repine so much at the illiberal policy of the legislature, as at the still more illiberal and partial conduct, which the executive government of the country has adopted in every period of her history. Another grievance which presses upon the Catholics with intolerable weight is, the present constitution of the church establishment. Indeed, in whatever light this subject is viewed, and to whatever part of it we direct our attention, whether to the number of the church dignitaries, the magnitude of their revenues, the persons from whom those revenues are exported, or the manner in which they are collected—the system appears to be utterly corrupt, and to cry most loudly for a speedy and effectual reform. The Reviewer demonstrates that the whole number of Irish attached to the established form of worship cannot exceed 500,000, or one-fourteenth of the whole population. For this small fraction of the people, twenty-two Archbishops and Bishops, and

thirteen hundred beneficed Clergymen, are appointed by law. Now either this number is far too great for the spiritual wants of the Irish, or the number in England is infinitely too small (which nobody pretends): since we have here but twenty-six Archbishops and Bishops, to watch over a flock of nine millions. It is next contended that one Archbishop and four provincial Bishops would be amply sufficient in Ireland; and that the revenues of the other Sees would form an adequate provision for the whole body of Protestant Clergy; by which means, since the revenues of the Bishoprics are almost entirely independent of tithes, the oppressive and iniquitous tithe-system might be almost altogether disused. That we are fully justified in the application of these epithets will appear, partly, from the resolutions in favor of commutation, which have been recently agreed on by a large body of the Irish nobility and land-owners, but still more clearly from the following exposition, which we give in the words of the Review:—

"A considerable part of the incomes of the beneficed clergy are derived from tithes levied on the corn, cattle, pigs, poultry, and potatoes of the cottiers. The vote of the Irish House of Commons in 1735, declaring any man a traitor to his country who should assist in a prosecution for tithes of agistment, or of pasture lands, threw the clergy, from the opulent grazier, and the Protestant proprietor, upon the Catholic peasantry—for the peasants are almost universally Catholics—for support. It drove them from those who were able, and who ought to have been willing to pay their own pastors, to those who were miserably poor, and who had a different clergy to provide for. The resolution of 1735 declared, in effect, that the established church should get nothing from the parks and demesnes of the Protestant nobility and gentry, the proprietors of the whole country, but that they might enter the garden of the poor Catholic cottier, and pluck from the lips of his starving family a tenth part of their scanty subsistence! And, as it is really surprising, that the peasantry should have revolted at such an atrocious system?—that they should have endeavoured to wreak their vengeance on their ruthless oppressors?—and that from the era of the Whiteboys, down to the present hour, the tithe-system should have been the inexhaustible source of contention, bloodshed, and murder? The Irish clergy generally employed an agent, or proctor; who, immediately before harvest, estimates the barrels of corn, tons of hay, or hundred weight of potatoes he supposes to be on the ground, and, charging them at the market price, fixes the sum to be paid as a compensation to his spiritual superior. The parson sometimes leases the tithes to a proctor; and he again, not unfrequently, lets them to another; so that the land really becomes, as Mr. Grattan emphatically stated, '*a prey to a subordination of vultures.*'"

We are compelled, for the present, to stop here; and in the mean time we beseech our readers to reflect seriously upon the facts we have already enumerated, and to deduce their own candid and impartial conclusions

We have observed, with much pleasure, that several distinguished marks of respect have been lately paid to Mr. Hume, by large and respectable bodies of his fellow-clergymen, in acknowledgment of his very extraordi-

nary exertions in Parliament. Never, in our opinion, has any senator been able to present a more unequivocal claim to the gratitude of the country. We have witnessed and applauded in other men a systematic opposition to a bad government; we have admired the clearness and energy with which others have exposed arbitrary and unconstitutional measures; but, in a majority of such cases, we have been compelled to allow the possibility of that opposition having arisen rather from a desire to supplant and succeed the present possessors of power than from a sincere wish to reform the system of government itself. But in the case of Mr. Hume, no such suspicion is admissible for a single moment; his exertions have been uniformly directed to the destruction of all those means and opportunities of abuse, which no actual minister would ever voluntarily relinquish, since they strengthen his hold upon power; and which no expectant minister would agree to destroy, lest he should weaken the tenure of his future predominance. Mr. Hume has not sought to divert the streams of corruption into other channels, but to cut them off altogether.

With the views which we entertain of the absolute necessity of parliamentary reform, we unquestionably consider that man as entitled to our highest praise, who advocates this great cause with ability, zeal, and perseverance. Next to him we should be disposed to place the senator, who, without exerting himself in the cause of reform, sedulously and disinterestedly endeavours to render the necessity for that measure less crying; who shows himself a steady friend to liberty, to economy, and to peace; and who constantly manifests his readiness to render his country every service, within those limitations which are imposed by the defective constitution of parliament upon the zeal of its patriotic members. These two characters, either of which deserves universal respect and gratitude, are united in Mr. Hume.—In entering upon the task of exposing the different abuses in the public expenditure, the member of Montrose undertook a work of the most appalling difficulty. Even had ministers given every facility to his inquiries; had they supplied him with every means of information, and encouraged him at every step of his progress; had he confined himself to the simple and barren task of inspecting and verifying the public accounts—Mr. Hume would even in that case have undertaken a Herculean labour. But when it is remembered that he entered singly upon an investigation almost boundless in its extent, and retarded by every means which the whole enormous power of government could interpose; that he ventured singly into the desert of the public accounts, gloomy as it was, and overgrown with every species of thorn and weed which a long impunity had cherished and propagated; that he contended against a power almost irresistible, fighting for its oldest prejudices and its dearest interests; that he battled, single-handed, with the Treasury, the Admiralty, the Ordnance—with Secretaries, Under-Secretaries, Clerks, and Deputy-Clerks—with Quarterly Reviews, Couriers, Intelligencers,

Multaque præterea variarum monstra ferarum, who can refuse to admire his indefatigable spirit and his untiring perseverance?—But we are told, with as much of an air of triumph as the beaten condition of his opponents will allow them to assume, that Mr. Hume has

been guilty of blunders. Our readers may probably remember that we exposed on a former occasion the emptiness of Mr. Croker's exploit against him; and that the charge of blundering has been often retorted with success upon his triumphant accusers. But, granting for one moment that Mr. Hume has made even ten times as many arithmetical errors as have been imputed to him, would he even then have been guilty of a tenth part of the blunders which any other man could scarcely avoid in the course of calculations so complex, so various, and so extensive? Many a well-paid Secretary, with all his official auxiliaries about him, "with all appliances and means to boot," has been guilty, even within his own particular department, of more mistakes than have been detected in the universal labours of Mr. Hume though we should take them at the number which ministerial vigilance and ministerial falsehood would assign.—But, after all, who can fail to perceive that this reiterated and hackneyed charge makes far more against Ministers than against the member for Montrose? When we see that answer to all his assertions that the public expenditure is wasteful and improvident, the court-writers employ themselves in blazoning forth a trifling arithmetical blunder, (admitting they can find such), instead of negativing the main charge of extravagance and abuse, do we not infer, with reason, that that charge cannot be negative?

In one word, we sincerely think that Mr. Hume has established a claim to the gratitude and respect of every impartial and upright man. Though deserving of high praise for his courage in undertaking so many and such arduous labours, his merits are infinitely augmented by the perseverance with which he has continued to march along the path of duty, in spite of every attempt to seduce or deter him. He is already in possession of the esteem of his countrymen; and so long as he shall continue the enemy of all abuses, the friend of every reform, it ought to be the pride, as it will be the duty, of Englishmen, to encourage those exertions, which are intended and calculated for their common benefit.



*Address of the Religious Society of Friends called Quakers, to his Majesty.*

To GEORGE the Third, King of Great Britain, and the Dominions thereunto belonging.

May it please the KING,

Amidst the general satisfaction which thy late escape from an attempt on thy life hath occasioned, permit thy faithful and affectionate subjects, the Religious Society of Friends, usually called Quakers, thus publicly to manifest their thankfulness for thy preservation.

We have received too many benefits during thy reign, too many marks of thy princely favor, not to feel greatly interested in thy personal safety; and we earnestly desire that this providential deliverance may more and more incline thy heart to seek direction of Divine Wisdom in all thy steps; for what greater blessing and we implore for a Prince whom we honor and love, than that he may continually commend himself and the

people over whom he reigns, to the approbation of the King of Kings.

Signed in; by order, and on behalf of the yearly meeting of the Friends held in London, the twenty-ninth day of fifth month, one thousand eight hundred. W. ALEXANDER, Clerk to the Meeting this Year.

[Presented by Joseph Garney Bevan, accompanied by John Kendal, Sampson Lloyd, John Elliott, Richard Chester, George Harrison, Samuel Alexander, Philip Debelle Tucket, George Stacey, John Burlingham, Richard Philips, and William Alexander.

To which Address his Majesty was pleased to return the following most gracious answer:

I thank you for this dutiful and loyal address, and for your affectionate congratulations on the merciful favor and protection which the Divine Providence has vouchsafed to me.

The repeated demonstrations of loyalty and attachment to my Person and Government which I have received upon the present occasion, are highly acceptable to me; and you may rely on the continuance of my unremitting exertions to promote the welfare and happiness of all descriptions of my subjects, and to preserve inviolate their civil and religious privileges.

In the reign of King George the II. the people called Quakers had the honor to wait upon his Majesty with an address. The King had premeditated the way as he supposed, to get the Quakers to approach him without hats; on their coming near him, the King took his off, the Quakers immediately said, George, it doth not become thee to be uncovered, so that his Majesty could not gain his object.

*Pope innocent, to John, King of England, in the year of our Lord, 1207.*

Among the riches that mortals prize as the most valuable, and desire with the greatest earnestness, it is our opinion that pure gold and precious stones hold the first rank. Although we are persuaded that your royal excellency has no want of such things; yet we have thought proper to send you as a mark of our good will, four rings, set with four stones. We beg the favor you would consider the mysteries contained in their form, their matter, their number and colour, rather than their value. Their roundness denotes eternity, which having neither beginning nor end, ought to induce you to tend without ceasing from earthly things to heavenly, and from things temporal to things eternal. The number four which is a square, signifies firmness of mind, which is not to be shaken by adversity, nor elated by prosperity, but always continues in the same state. This is a perfection to which yours will not fail to arrive, when it shall be adorned with the four cardinal virtues, *justice, fortitude, prudence, and temperance*. The first will be of service to you in passing sentence; the second in adversity; the third in dubious cases; the fourth in prosperity. By the gold is signified wisdom, for just as gold is most precious of all metals, wisdom is of all endowments, the most excellent, as the Profit witnesses in these words, the spirit of wisdom shall rest upon him, and in-

deed there is nothing more requisite in a Sovereign. Accordingly Solomon, the pacific King, only asked of God wisdom, to enable him to well govern his people. The blue colour of the emerald denotes faith; the clearness of the sapphire hope; the redness of the ruby charity, and the colour of the topaz good works, concerning which, our Saviour said, let your light so shine before men, that they may see your good works. In the emerald you have therefore what you are to believe. In the sapphire what you are to hope. In the ruby what you are to love. And in the topaz what you are to practice, to the end you may proceed from virtue to virtue, till you come to the vision of the God of Gods in Zion.

*The following is an Abstract of the Sermon preached by his Grace the Archbishop of York, at the Coronation of his Majesty, King George the IV. from the 23d chap. of the second book of Samuel, the 3d and 4th verses.*

"He that ruleth over men must be just, ruling in the fear of God, and he shall be as the light of the morning, when the sun riseth, even a morning without clouds; as the tender grass springing out of the earth by clear shining after rain."

After stating the maxims of good government contained in the text, the preacher proceeds as follows:—

"These maxims, then, demand your attention, as the words of him who cannot be mistaken, of him by whom the wisest must submit to be taught, and whom the most powerful must be content to obey.

"These maxims which assert either the duties or benefits of civil government, would, at all times, require to be inculcated, may be inferred from the very constitution of our mind. The common pride of our nature has a tendency to excite in the bulk of mankind, an impatience of inferiority and control; whilst, on the other hand, there is danger, lest he who is exalted above the rest of his fellow-creatures on earth, should forget his own dependence upon God, should forget that he has a master in Heaven, with whom "there is no respect of persons." Thus will be produced disloyalty on the part of the subject, and oppression on the part of the sovereign, and both be rendered incapable of enjoying those reciprocal blessings which flow from the mutual attachment and confidence of the prince and the people."

"The history of the world affords ample proof in support of this assertion; the records of every nation exhibit the alternate predominance of tyranny and faction. The spirit of innovation has burst the ties of allegiance under—— governments, has proceeded to redress—— grievances with bloodshed, and has not stopped in its frantic career, till it has subverted the foundations of society, and thrown down the fences by which innocence is protected, and property secured:—and tyranny, if it has not spread such wide-wasting desolation, has made more free inroads on the happiness of man, and practiced on their patience every mode of exactation which rapacity could devise, and every species of persecution which cruelty could inflict.

"Nor are these domestic crimes the only calamities

which the injustice of rulers has brought upon mankind. How much innocent blood cries aloud from every corner of the earth, against the destructive ambition of princes; how large a portion of those wars, which have ravaged the world, is to be imputed to the vain glorious wickedness of individuals, exalted in power, abusing their sacred trust.

"The great general principle of good government, is universal justice; justice between nation and nation; justice between man and man; justice between the sovereign and the people.

"The laws of political justice which should regulate the intercourse of nations, have been so little regarded by those who have directed the councils of powerful kingdoms, that a reader of history might almost imagine that there was one mode of morality for nations, and another for individuals. In the transactions of states with each other, the most crooked acts of circumvention has been practiced under the name of policy, and the most enormous violence of usurpation when confirmed by conquest, has been dignified with the character of patriotism.

"But a just ruler will remember, that the principles of equity are exactly the same in public as in private concerns. Between those acts of injustice which effect individuals, and those which are often committed against communities, what difference is there, except in the extent of the injury, and consequently the magnitude of the guilt?

"The duty of administering justice without partiality, between man and man, is delegated, for the most part, to subordinate Judges, and requires therefore no more than a summary notice in the present inquiry. Still, the delegation of that trust is the act of the Sovereign himself; and the greatest importance must attach to the choice of those who are to represent his authority.

"This, indeed, may in some sense be considered as the last division of justice which I have mentioned. The justice which a Sovereign owes to the people; and which makes it his duty to place able and conscientious men in stations of trust and power; for "when the righteous are in authority, the people rejoice."

"No nation can ever be happy at home, or respected abroad, unless its councils and laws be administered by the prudent and honest, by the moral and the religious; and though virtue and piety have higher rewards than it is in the power of man to bestow, yet it is the most essential service which a Sovereign can render to a state, to encourage morality and religion by a marked and uniform preference in the distribution of dignity and power. If, indeed, those who surround the Throne, and ought to reflect its lustre; if those, whose station makes them at once objects of envy and imitation, if such men are worthless and wicked, the influence of their example will extend itself in every direction; and profligacy, originating in this source, will be rapidly diffused through all the gradations of society.

"The ruler who would be just to his people, whilst he approves himself the faithful and zealous guardian of their civil rights, will preserve their morals from the contagion of vice and irreligion, by "ruling in the fear of God;" by withholding his favor from the base and licentious; by exalting the wise and good to distinction

and honor; and by exhibiting in his own department an example of those virtues which it is his duty to cherish in others: remembering, that his responsibility bears a proportion to the height of his station; and that he who sits on a Throne, is under peculiar obligations to holiness, as having to answer at the great Tribunal of Judgment, not only for his own personal conduct, but for the influence of his manners and actions on the present and future happiness of millions.

" In the personal character of the late King, and its effect upon society, the Archbishop gives a very appropriate and impressive illustration of the principles of the text.

" The Prince who acts habitually on this great principle of religion, will find his firmest support, and his highest reward here on earth, in the veneration and gratitude of his subjects.

" Under such a ruler, we have ourselves experienced the truth of this assertion. We have seen a religious reign, during more than half a century, improving the morals of society. We have seen the Throne of England established in righteousness, amidst the wreck of surrounding Thrones, and while other governments, shaken almost to dissolution, were crumbling to pieces on every side.

" We have seen the just Monarch, who ruled us in the fear of God, rewarded with the steady and zealous affections of his people; retaining in his afflictive retirement their unabated reverence, followed to his tomb by their sincere regrets, and beyond it by their grateful recollections.

#### THE SERMON THUS CONCLUDES.

" On the Son and successor of this venerated King, now rests our hope of Britains weal; and if we may build our expectations of the future on our experience of the past, we have just ground of hope, in looking back to the eventful period of the regency.

" The Sovereign, about to receive the imperial crown of his ancestors, is not new to the cares and duties of his high station.

" When called to the exercise of his royal authority, he found the country involved in a war, which threatened our very existence as an independent state.

" Through his steadfastness in the hour of peril (under the Providence of God) that war has been brought to a conclusion, glorious to the national fame and character, perhaps beyond any parallel in the annals of our history,—glorious, above all, in the moderation of the triumph,—glorious in the magnanimity with which undazzled by the splendours of conquest, and unsubdued by the prospects of ambition, the victor confined himself to the only legitimate object of war, the achievement of a lasting peace.

" Under the government of a Prince who has shewed such fortitude in public dangers, and such wisdom in public prosperity, we have reason to anticipate all the blessings of a firm and prudent policy;—we have reason to trust, that he will place his glory in the moral greatness of his country, that the true interests of the nation will be consulted by a patriot reign, and the Throne established in the hearts of a loyal and happy people.

" Let us, then, in conclusion, implore the Almighty, of his infinite mercy, to accept and confirm the solemn

engagements which are made on this day in his presence; let us beseech him in the ever prevailing name of Christ, to multiply his blessings on the head of our Sovereign, and so to direct and prosper his councils for the maintenance of true religion and the good of his people, that he may long continue to hold the sceptre of righteousness, in the abundance of peace and glory."

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#### *A Panegyric on the Constitution of England in its original Purity.*

Here I cannot avoid remarking, how wonderful, that this nation which appears to excel in every thing, but this one thing most needful, viz:—the restoration and preservation of the constitution of England, the guardian of her liberty, happiness, and welfare in the happy times past.

In its original state of purity, it was such a treasure as no other people in the world ever enjoyed. It had the capacity of affording comfort, safety, happiness, and prosperity to the whole nation, and to every one from the most humble peasant to the King upon the Throne, who had the comfort of living under its benign influence in those happy days.

To the curious, or those who want amusement, or to find out wonders and curiosities in this transitory life, if they will view and contemplate it, they will find a field of unbounded curiosity and amusement, such as they cannot find in all the journeys they can take in the wide world.

The religious, humane, and charitable, may find in it all those amiable and justly necessary fine feelings and inclinations gratified beyond their most anxious wish, and refined imagination.

The man of business, and all others with integrity, might find in it protection, and aid to their industry and honest endeavours.

In it may be found the guardian and aid of virtue, and discourager of vice.

The man of talent might find in it such a nursery for his abilities, and encouragement to his merit and elevation, as cannot be found in any other constitution in the world.

The enjoyment of wealth and high rank, none could afford such gratification and real pleasure, as the constitution of England, in its original state of purity.

To the poor who are perhaps the most numerous class, it might be a perpetual comfort, and asylum, if their law was executed agreeable to the charitable and wise intentions of our forefathers, and by the golden rule which every thinking man would wish to be governed by. And I think I have explained before, how much the practice is the contrary, but I hope to see it soon altered for the better.

Then is it not wonderful, I say surpassing wonder, that the restoration and preservation of this inestimable fabric, and polities, should not be the constant study, care, conversation, and first amusement in all companies, and on all occasions, till they have accomplished this just and necessary work. But alas! what are we doing, we are neglecting this duty, and suffering this darling of

the world to expire, many of us, or perhaps few of us, can tell why or wherefore.

Surely this Warning Voice of mine, and many others, will incline us all with one consent, to do this one thing needful in this world, which will smooth our passage to the happiness of the world to come. This admitted, which I trust none will deny, we may justly call it the one thing needful. Why do the English go so much abroad but to see the defects, misery, and tyranny of other countries, for want of our constitution; one would almost think in search of this inestimable almost lost treasure and happiness, which they leave behind them, as they do many other good things in this country. If they would learn how to value, improve, and treasure them up, such as they can find in no other; then why do so many of them stop so long abroad, and neglect their duty here, when we hear all of them on their return, exult and praise the dying constitution and liberties of England, as much superior to any other even in their shattered and deliberated state.

Now I lament, I grieve, bewail, and mourn over the present inconceivable miseries of Spain, and the blame due to the councils of this country, for suffering the holy alliance to bring Spain to this misery; and by doing so, exposed the remains of our dear dying constitution, to the most imminent danger of being destroyed by the holy alliance, which we might with ease have prevented without going to war. I pray most heartily for the Almighty's aid, not only to extricate them both from this misery and perilous situation, but that it may be the Almighty's will to open the charity and humanity of the minds of men all over the world, to plant some of the remaining seeds of it in all nations, for the benefit and good of mankind, and to nourish them to grow to the perfection of the English constitution, in its original state of purity.

Can any one figure to himself, or imagine how much we should pray for relief, were we suffering the present miseries of Spain, and how meritorious it would have been in us to have prevented those miseries, and at the same time have protected our own liberties and power, and promoted the liberties of Spain and all the world.

To restore this darling constitution of England to its original purity, has been and is the study and constant uniform, care, and practice of many of the first peers, commoners, military gentlemen, and divines of the land, with one of the Royal Dukes, and all their inferiors who are under no influence, have uniformly done the same, they have pursued this course upon the principles of religion, charity, virtue, honor, patriotism, and integrity.

And William Pitt joined this heavenly cause from his infancy, so long and to such a degree, as to command my approbation of his conduct, almost to adoration, and so as to consider him as an Angel sent from the Almighty, to save this country from ruin, by helping to complete the work, all the abovementioned had for many years laboured to do. I did love and admire him indeed, far beyond my power to express; but when he proved this was all a false pretence to get into power, and listed into that combination, that formidable combination, which is the nation's bane and danger, and I fear with many others, will be its ruin; if the people do not unite with one voice, and annihilate it before it be too late. When

he stepped into power, his fame, popularity, and supposed patriotism was so great with all ranks, that he might with a turn of his hand have destroyed that dangerous combination; for doing which, he would have had the approbation and praise of his country and the world. But he apostatized, became the greatest hypocrite, and listed himself under the banners of bribery and corruption, and from appearing the champion of patriotism, virtue, and liberty, became the champion of corruption, bribery, and vice. And from the power to benefit his country and the liberties of the world more than ever any other man had, he revered his conduct, and did them more injury than any other man, or perhaps all other men in the world ever did in the same space of time. He blasted and withered the dawning liberties of France and the world—and thereby incurred my displeasure and hatred to a greater degree than I had loved and admired him. In his plenitude of power, after professing himself a patriot and friend to the liberties of his country and the world; when he got to the helm of this mighty empire, he attacked the dawning liberties of France, though they repeatedly sent and offered their prayers that he would not do so, and caused above twenty years of the most ruinous, barbarous, bewildered wars that ever was waged, and thereby forced his country many times to the brink of ruin, and we have to thank the Almighty, the elements, and Bonaparte's ambition for our existence as an independent nation, and in the end curtailed the liberties of his country, restored the ancient despotism of France and Spain, and gave birth to, and his successor joined the holy alliance, which is now the terror of the liberty, and welfare of the world.

How much is said about the Pitt system, and how much his nefarious example is adhered to, by the enemies of reform, (many of whom do not know what they are saying or doing,) is as notorious as the bright sun at noon day.

Gentlemen of virtue and integrity in private life, who fell all the glowing ardour of virtue, religion, integrity, patriotism, charity, and humanity, when they become bewitched and bewildered, and enlist under the banners of this baneful combination, to promote their sordid private interest in this transitory life, follow the example of such like men, and become corrupt and vicious in the extreme, by advocating such wicked measures; are not such to be pitied that they cannot pursue a more virtuous way of promoting their private interest. Then how much are inferiors to be pitied, who look up to superiors for an example, if they become guilty of bribery, corruption, and vice, are not only held up to the world as rogues, and vagabonds, and despised and rejected of men, but punished for such crimes. But are not superiors, who do so deserve the same, magnified in proportion to their high and elevated rank. Can it then be said there is no rottenness in Denmark, can it then any longer be unblushingly said, a people who have such a nefarious example are not in danger. To the consciences of the whole of this what is called a mighty flourishing empire; I appeal, to know if she is not in great danger, from the bribery, corruption, luxury, tyranny, oppression, and poverty which prevails, and are as notorious as the bright sun at noon day. And I ask those who are guilty, to consider well how soon they

will have to appear before a heavenly tribunal.

When the late Mr. Pitt had been made premier in 1784, and finding himself in a minority in the House of Commons, had dissolved Parliament to secure his situation, at the subsequent meeting for the nomination of members for Yorkshire, General Hale very significantly observed, who would have expected to see the son of the immortal Chatham, stalking into power behind prerogative?

### *Reformation of Parliament.*

Those who were alarmed by the real enemies to reform, were afraid where no fear was; they were afraid of something, but they could never tell what. It was a bugbear, raised by those enemies to reform, who said there was danger from the people. But what are the people, I never yet heard that word defined to my satisfaction. But I say, the people are every rank, in every link of the chain, from the Cobbler's cottage, to the King's Throne. How can you define it any other way, how can you make any distinction, it is impossible, where would you draw the line in this land of freedom, which enables men to rise by their talent, merit, and integrity, step by step, or link by link, from the most humble to the most elevated situations in life, which they could not do without the liberty, freedom, and protection of the constitution we have enjoyed, but are thoughtlessly suffering to expire. But I hope all gentlemen who have by their merit, integrity, and superior talent, risen from humble, to the highest ranks in society, will give this all due consideration, and help to hand down the constitution of England in its original purity, to posterity unimpaired, as an everlasting mark of their gratitude. Then who will any longer tell us there is danger from the people, will the people be afraid of themselves; they have nothing to fear but themselves.

There are many reformers in every rank, but the greatest numbers are in the middling and lower orders, because they are most oppressed, in most poverty, and their liberties most curtailed, for want of a reformation in Parliament. Then how can we offer thanks and praise enough to the nobles of the land, and also to the gentlemen both in and out of the house of commons, for their noble, zealous, independent, increasing efforts, to promote a reformation in Parliament, which I hope they and all others will revive with their usual zeal, and pursue with unabated vigour.

We are now in a state of peace and tranquillity for sake of all that is sacred and good, let us no longer delay to restore the constitution to its original state of purity, liberty, freedom, and comfort to us all, and make ourselves once more the happy, the most safe, and powerful people in the known world.

I hope none will any longer believe there is any danger from the people, except to the existence of them six friends to reform, bribery, corruption, luxury, tyranny, oppression, and poverty, and those who generated, are feeding and protecting them. A speedy annihilation to all them friends to reform, will promote

reform, and be a blessing to the nation, and relieve all the people's wants, and do away all their complaints and discord.

### *My second Appendix to Road Making.*

I advise a plain, level, flat, road, from side to side, and not an inclined plain as I advised before, then the stone may be laid upon the flat, hard, solid ground, and not upon the loose soft earth, which has just been moved and thrown up, to make the barrelled road in the old fashioned way, then the covering of stone six inches thick, broke three or four inches square, and two or three inches of furnace cinders, engine ashes, or gravel from the rivers upon them, broke small, will be enough to make the top smooth; and on this flat road the water will fall down the hills, spread from side to side regular, and not get into strong currents as is the case in the barrelled roads, and wash the road into deep holes, which you may see very common upon the hills, deep enough to throw a mail-coach over. And where ditches are thought necessary, I would have them on the outside of the fences, and where the ground happens to be a little on the declivity or falling, it may be well to accommodate that ground by an inclined plain, rather than shift the earth to make it loose and soft for the stones, but this will require much serious consideration by the committee or trustees, and surveyor. A specimen of this flat road may be seen made by chance over East Moor, between Wakefield and Stanley-Lane-End; also between Halifax and Todmorden. The superiority of this flat road is proved by the practice of Mr. Field, of Low-Moor Iron Works, and Mr. Butler, of Kirkstall Forge. I advise the traveller to observe on the barrelled roads, the top is flat and level, and the carriages run all upon that part about eight or ten feet broad, and meet and turn each other aside; and the water stands upon that flat part till the wind or sun dry it up or it sinks through the covering and stones; if they be porous by not being broke too small, they may observe this water cannot run off any other way except down the hill, though the side falls much, erroneously intended for the water to fall off side way, but it does not do so.

They practice a very dangerous rule upon the Wakefield and Austerland turnpike road, which I condemn by laying large stones upon the middle of the road in the day time, to force the carts into new paths, which is very dangerous to the travellers. Two gentlemen in their gig run over one of these stones in the day time, and threw them both on the road. I expect some of these stones will be left on the road all night and throw the mail coach over, then they will discontinue the dangerous practice; but I hope this hint will cause it to be done before such misfortune happen to the travellers. I advise a much easier way of making them take a new path, only fill up one rut at once and they will soon cross or take a new path.

R. Milnes's new economical plan of road making, twenty-one feet stone for a winter road, sixteen feet not one stone to be put upon it for a summer road, forty-five

feet broad outside the walls, a level flat road ston side to side and joined, so that carriages may go from one to the other without trouble, a plain from side to side, the very same as if it was all stoned, except where they join, to save the trouble, expence, and inconvenience of making the summer road level with the stoned part, because the stones are to be laid upon the flat, solid, bare ground, and it will be better to make the summer road upon the same, so that the winter road will be six or eight inches higher than the summer, having both the same flat soil, the stones will make the winter road six or eight inches higher, so that there will be a slope to join them.

ft. tn.

2 0 for the causeway.

2 0 for the path between the causeway and the wall, for the foot people to turn off and walk upon.

21 0 the stoned part six inches thick of stone from side to side, and covered three inches thick with furnace cinders, engine ashes, burnt stone, brick, or gravel from the rivers, broke small, then the stone may be broke three or four inches square, then they will be porous, and let the water through, stoned or covered, close or near the top of the causeway, so that foot or horse may turn off without trouble.

16 0 the unstoned part.

4 0 the walls three feet high, exclusive of the topings.

45 0 or 15 yards total breadth outside the walls.

I calculate the summer road will be travelled six months in the year, including moderate frosts.

### *Old fashioned Plan.*

30 feet broad stoned and left uncovered.

18 inches thick stoned at the crown.

15 inches thick stoned at the ribs, or half way between the crown and skirt.

9 inches thick stoned at the skirt, and much expence in throwing up and forming the barrelled floor, ready for the stones, which will be all saved by the flat road, because the ground will be flat and ready made without expence.

Generally 40 to 45 feet broad outside the walls. Compare them and see if half will not be saved.

60 feet broad ever commons by act of parliament, but that is too much and a waste of land.

### *The miseries of Spain, from the Leeds Mercury of the 11th of December, 1824.*

St. Madrid, Nov. 1, 1824.—The King of Spain is calumniated, I assure you, by those who represent him as incapable of acting on any system of government. His Majesty has fully established a system of his own, and acts up to it with vigour and industry—a system of terror the most comprehensive and efficient known in

modern times; that sets aside all laws, justice and humanity—daily executions of innocent men—fathers hanged for the crimes of their children—wives punished like criminals of the worst class, for aiding their husbands to escape unmerited death—ladies condemned to banishment, and sent at a moment's notice from their homes and families, for the crime of sending food to friends and relatives, dying of hunger in prisons. A narrative of one week of these scenes of blood in Madrid, would exceed the limits of a letter. The french revolution was as nothing, compared to what is now passing in Spain."

The above mentioned miseries have been caused by the holy alliance, and a want of the english constitution in its original purity all over the world; and by the conduct of our councils for want of the same, by neglecting to forbid the holy alliance invading Spain, which would have prevented it without going to war; it would have encouraged the Spaniards, and they would have done their own work, and been a happy and most powerful nation at this time, independent of the holy alliance, and staunch friends to the liberty, freedom and comfort of the world, and our staunch friends and allies; upon the genuine and strongest principles of gratitude, with the first maritime fortresses in the world.

All the above furnish me with that little heavenly word hope, and the belief that the present miseries of Spain, and the principle object and conduct of the holy alliance to extinguish the liberty and freedom of the world, will unite the good people of this mighty empire, of all religions, with one voice to promote a reformation in parliament without delay. Nothing but serious thought and consideration is wanting to create perfect union, to produce a return of the happy days of old, and to see the best constitution in the world in its original state of purity, as an example. And I pray that the Almighty may, by inspiration, teach all nations to follow this laudable example of Great-Britain.

I am afraid our councils are leagued, contaminated, infatuated, bewildered, or implicated in the holy alliance; if this be the case, is it not time for the people to unite and reform parliament to prevent such evils in future? which union and reform would cure all our complaints, make us religious and humane, happy, truly great and glorious.

### *On the Frailty of Man.*

Oh, frail man!—Wilt thou inquire for the beginning and end of time, and thou canst find none. From these considerations thou may discover, that thy time upon earth is a moment, and a point thy space.

Wilt thou consider well and seriously, that on thy good or evil deeds in this transitory life, will depend thy happiness or misery in the everlasting world to come, and how soon thou art to appear before a heavenly tribunal.

Wilt thou consider and contemplate the wonderful and incomprehensible powers of the sun and moon, and

their invariable regularity and uses to thee, and the whole creation.

Wilt thou consider the unchangable laws of nature, and that they never vary, which enables thee to make thy calculation with as much certainty, as thou art capable of. Hast thou ever considered the nature of the four elements, water, air, earth, and fire, and their indispensable uses to thee, and that thou couldst not live without them; and why the Almighty has made thy food necessary to thy existence. Hast thou ever considered why thou poor frail mortal was made lord of the creation, and by what power thou wast made so, and why thou art continued so, and why the Almighty made such a being as thee, and why thou art not allowed to return to this world after thou art dead. Hast thou ever considered that thou hast an important, indispensable, religious, charitable duty to discharge towards thy Creator, society, and thyself, and hast thou discovered that thou hast not discharged all, if any of these great duties, either to thy own satisfaction, or that of thy fellow creatures? Hast thou ever considered what thy inferiors do for thee, and what thou wouldest be without them? When thou hast considered well all these, and many other mysteries, and the golden rule, thou wilt discover thy own frailty and insignificance, and much of thy folly and neglect of duty, and that will teach thee to become humane, religious, a friend to the poor, to respect thy inferiors, and to promote the welfare of society, and the safety, liberty, freedom, and happiness of thy country and the world, and to worship the Almighty, author of

them all, and "to do justice, love mercy, and walk humbly with thy God?" Then thou wilt become a happy man, and discover that without religion and charity, there is no true happiness in this world, or, in the world to come. And thou wilt also discover, that "to fear God and keep his commandments, is the whole duty of man."

Hast thou ever considered, when thou hast delayed or mispent thy time, thou canst not call it back, or ever see it again?

The full meaning of the inestimable word charity, thou mayest find explained in the most excellent 13th chapter of the first epistle of Paul the apostle to the Corinthians—hast thou ever considered why the Almighty has continued all these great mercies and indulgences to all mankind, from age to age, and how soon thou mayest be deprived of them all?

At the conclusion of this book, which I have been spared to write in my old age, and for which I am thankful to my creator, (and I have written it in ignorance, truth, sincerity, integrity, and great anxiety for the good of all mankind,) I do pray most sincerely, fervently, and anxiously that the Almighty's spirit may accompany and promote what I have said, to the eternal happiness and comfort of the readers and all mankind, in this world and the world to come, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

RICHARD MILNES,

*Horbury, near Wakefield, Yorkshire, 21st Dec. 1824.*

**FINIS.**

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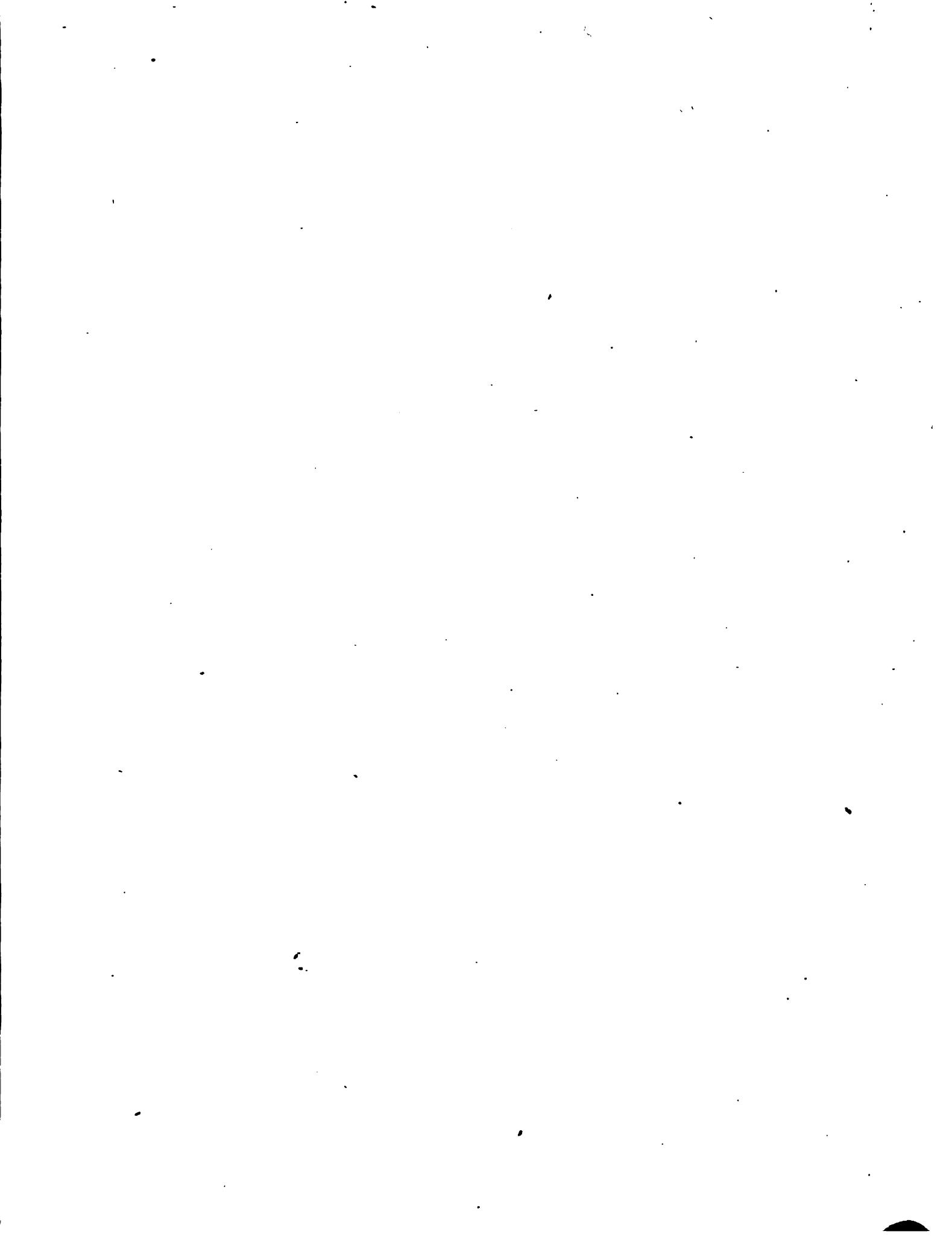
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the *Journal of the American Statistical Association*, Vol. 27, No. 178, June, 1932, pp. 1-12.

the first time, and the author's name is given as "John Smith". The book is described as being bound in red leather with gold tooling, and it is noted that the title page is slightly faded. The book is described as being in good condition.

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